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Selections.

PETITION AND MEMORIAL

OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED,

That the right of Suffrage, and other rights, natural and constitutional, belonging to the people may be secured impartially for colored citizens as well as white without respect to persons.

REASONS OF THE PETITION.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

1. Your memorialists respectfully represent that it is their desire to see the Government of this country administered for the protection of the rights of all its citizens without respect to persons. But respect to the color of the skin is of all kinds of injurious partiality the most cruel, unreasonable and unjust, since under a dark complexion there may be found the brightest intelligence and highest moral worth. We pray your honorable body to deliver us as Americans from the shame of having our legislation ordered and our justice administered on such grounds as must make our Republican Government a reproach among civilized nations.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE TO THE PEOPLE.

2. Your memorialists would urge the second section of the first article in the Constitution of the United States, providing that the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen by the people of the several States. It is the same people, irrespective of color, whose unity and authority are set forth in the preamble, declaring that we, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution, to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. The first security settled was this of the right of representation by the people of the several States. It is too plain for argument that all classes of citizens from whom the Government of the United States requires allegiance are the people of the several States. And it is the duty of the National Government, by proper legislation and action, to protect all its citizens in that right of representation, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Furthermore, "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." These qualifications must be determined by the people themselves, who create the legislature; and by the preceding guarantee of the right of representation to the people of the States, the same people who ordained and established the Constitution, the State itself is forever estopped from making the color of the skin a qualification or disqualification.

It would be the perfection of despotism if a single State could take away the right of representation from a class of citizens of the United States within its borders, the United States Government being at the same time deprived of the right and power of interfering to protect that right. If that were State sovereignty, and admitted, the United States would be simply a congeries of despotisms.

Your memorialists cannot admit that the right to regulate a political franchise—as by conditions of age, or intelligence, or property, equally applicable to all classes and presupposing the same right of all classes on arriving at those conditions—involves the right to destroy that franchise, or to exclude any class from it, especially by life-long and hereditary exclusion of color or race. The vote is a primal hereditary right of the sovereignty of the people; it may be regulated, but it cannot be destroyed. But to take it away from a whole class or race of millions of human beings on account of color is to destroy it; a power never committed by the Constitution to a State, nor by the people of the United States to a Congress. No State Legislature has the power to destroy the right of voting. The right of a State to *prescribe* qualifications in all classes *for* suffrage, does not mean the right to *proscribe* the colored citizens of the State as excluded *from* suffrage.

The same may be said as to the right of bearing witness. No State can possibly have the right to exclude any one class from that right; for it is a right of human nature, a natural right given by the Creator; and the invasion of it on the plea of the color of the skin is an attempt at moral assassination. The State has the right to regulate testimony, but not to destroy it, to enact laws against bearing false witness, but not to destroy the right of witnessing; to forbid falsehood and perjury in all classes alike, but not to forbid any class from giving evidence for truth—not to proscribe truth because of the color of the skin.

If this injustice is sanctioned in the constitutions or laws of any of the States now suing for admission into the Union, and if they be received notwithstanding, then it is adopted and enacted by the Government, and the millions thus defrauded of their rights could not hope to recover them. But the adoption of such injustice would be a governmental funded insurance of future anarchy and blood. So many of the races ostracized by penalty of the skin are nearly white, being Saxon, Celtic, and Gallic as well as African; and they are of such general and increasing intelligence as well as numbers, that the attainder and outlawry of millions of such persons would be the fatal certainty of insurrections and bloody revolutions.

Your memorialists respectfully ask of Congress the prohibition of such injustice by enactments rendering it forever impossible.

EARLY OPINION OF THE COUNTRY, AND ARTICLES OF GOVERNMENT.

3. Against the adoption of color as a rule of disfranchisement, they would urge, besides its essential injustice and cruelty, the opinions and practice of our Revolutionary patriots and statesmen; the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence and the articles of the first Confederation, including provisions rendering it impossible for any State to exclude any person from voting on account of color, securing all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States to the free inhabitants of each of the States; the record of the fact of the Confederate Congress refusing to permit the State of South Carolina to introduce the word *white*, or any such principle of distinction and disfranchisement, and thus declaring that State sovereignty, even before our present Constitution and Union, included no right of disfranchising any class of citizens on account of the color of the skin, and that no State should be suffered to exercise such a power; also the provisions of the grand Territorial Ordinance of 1787, and the second section of the fourth article of our present Constitution, providing that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities in the several States," permitting no disqualification on account of color.

STATE VIOLATION OF THE CONTRACT FORBIDDEN BY THE CONSTITUTION.

4. Your memorialists respectfully urge the provision of section 10 in the first article of the Constitution, forbidding any State from having any law impairing the obligation of contract as making it unconstitutional for any State then in the Union to take away the right to vote, from any class of the inhabitants then possessing that right, or their posterity.

The Constitution was a contract entered into by all the States in behalf of all the free inhabitants of the land, that they should forever be the electors; representatives and taxes being apportioned among the several States according to the whole number of free persons, and the citizens of each State being entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; meaning that the citizens of New York and Massachusetts are entitled in South Carolina and Georgia to all the privileges of United States' citizens which they enjoy in their own States, and that the citizens of South Carolina and Georgia are entitled likewise to all the privileges of United States citizens in New York and Massachusetts; so that a residence in one State or another cannot deprive any citizen or citizens of any right belonging to United States citizenship anywhere in the Union; and any State laws so depriving any class are necessarily null and void, being a violation of contract if passed since the adoption of the Constitution, and if in existence previously, then set aside by virtue of the Constitution as adopted.

ATTAINDER OF COLOR OR RACE FORBIDDEN BY THE CONSTITUTION.

5. Your memorialists would urge that the taking away of the right of voting from any class of the inhabitants is equivalent to the passage of a bill of pains and penalties, and constitutes a bill of attainder forbidden in the ninth and tenth sections of the first article of the Constitution, equally to Congress and the States.

A bill, or law, or proclamation against the colored inhabitants of any State, depriving them of the rights of free citizens on account of their color, is precisely such forbidden legislation in its most offensive form. It is moral assassination, for it strikes down all their liberties, and condemns them to a state of perpetual caste-degradation, which is a living death. It is a bill of pains and penalties for posterity, by corruption of blood. Justice Story remarks in regard to it that "the existence of such a power is inconsistent with first principles, and incompatible with all just notions of the true ends and objects of a republican government." Not even the crime of treason is permitted by our Government to destroy the right to vote for the traitors or their children. Shall the color of the skin be permitted to destroy it for faithful loyal citizens and their posterity?

Yet this very attainder of color against millions of innocent inhabitants is one of the laws of reconstruction proposed, and thus far enforced, by the President of the United States. And it adds an amazing exasperation to its cruelty, if appointed as the reconstructive law of the social system, that it is utterly impossible to graduate or establish such an attainder by any known standard of race or law of evidence, or legal proof of what constitutes color. The range runs from shade to shade as in a rainbow, from the complexion of Toussaint to the hue of Washington, and from the darkness of the Ethiopian wife of Moses, to the whiteness of the leprosy of Miriam. Indeed, no language can describe the monstrous injustice and absurdity of such legislation. If it be appointed as a principle or law of reconstruction that none but whites shall vote, a color-meter of the *epidermis* should have been transmitted by the President, together with instructions as to its use, for every State reached by his proclamations.

The black codes of the Southern States are terrible examples of such illegal, unconstitutional and tyrannical bills of attainder. Enacted for the government of slaves, they are being renewed to create and perpetuate the state of slavery, under the law of reconstruction excluding the subjects of such tyranny from the right of the vote. Unusual pains and penalties have only to be added on account of color, and forms of colored crime ingeniously constructed, with statutes of forced labor for life, or imprisonment and sale for payment of jail-fees, or even the boldly declared penalty of slavery and the amendment of the Constitution forbidding slavery except for crime may legitimately and with perfect impunity be nullified. And that government which shall once have ratified the exclusion of this class of inhabitants in any State from the protection of the right to vote, will never interfere to protect or deliver them from such slavery.

EX POST FACTO LAWS FORBIDDEN BY THE CONSTITUTION.

6. Your memorialists would urge the inconsistency and injustice of permitting to be adopted for the government of persons who have become free, the statutes or customs of States where they had been held as slaves, and which were established for the purpose of perpetuating their condition of slavery. This would be an example of the iniquity of *ex post facto* laws, directly forbidden in the Constitution; oppressive statutes continued in existence or renewed, after the oppression, which they were contrived to sustain, has itself been put away by the Government. We call upon the authority which has put down slavery to obliterate and forbid the State codes that sustained it.

The President cannot throw back a free loyal population under the power of laws made by slaveholding and rebellious States for the purpose of enslaving them. He cannot be permitted to draw from the old constitutions of those States precedents for the reconstruction of free States, or statutes to be set for the government of a free people. The Constitution and laws of the United States for the whole people are the only rightful authority and power; and we have no more right to govern the free loyal people of to-day by the State laws of their former enslaved condition, than by the laws of the kingdom of Dahomey.

Neither can the President be permitted to determine what rights they shall not have or what they shall be deprived of, under the free Constitution of the United States, by what they were deprived of under the slaveholding constitutions and laws of slaveholding States. They are a free people. Only the Constitution of the United States need be consulted in their behalf, and nothing can be consulted against them, or adopted for the purpose of taking away in the State the rights which they hold, or are entitled to hold, as free citizens under the Constitution.

GUARANTEE OF A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE CONSTITUTION.

7. Your memorialists would urge the guarantee of a republican form of government for each State in the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution.

And, as to the question what constitutes a republican form of government, and what the people of the States have a right to demand of the United States under that guarantee, they refer to the Declaration of Independence, the Bills of Rights in the several States, and the recorded opinions and practices of our Revolutionary fathers. They held the essence of republicanism to consist in the security and enjoyment of representation by the whole body of the people as a personal right. When deprived of it themselves, they called it slavery, not republicanism, and maintained the war of the Revolution rather than relinquish it.

Your memorialists call upon Congress to fulfil this guarantee of a republican form of government, with the freedom of the vote for all citizens of the United States without respect to color or race; and to refuse the admission of any State into the Union until this condition of republican freedom be secured in the State constitutions and laws. It is but the passing over the people under another tyranny, if sovereign power be given to the State to exclude whole classes from the right of voting; and a people giving over this power to the State, enslave themselves. For such sovereignty will govern through the instrumentality of just as few agents as the prescribing power chooses to employ. The power that appoints the voters owns the people. The owner may call this a republic, because it is carried on by voting; but it is none the less a despotism, ruling the people by a power not originating with themselves, and beyond their control.

The vote is a natural right, but government is not. When there were only two men in the world, each had the natural right to vote, but neither had any right to govern. When there were three men, each had the natural right to vote, but neither any natural right to govern. If one governed, it must be by consent and union of the others, using their natural right to vote. The right of suffrage goes before everything else in government, except only the ordinance and obligation of government as divine, and of justice as its purpose and rule.

The common right of suffrage is one of those immemorial paths of common brotherhood in humanity and Christianity, that run across every State line and enclosure in this country. By our Constitution, the right of way in this path cannot be interrupted or shut up. In this thing consists the difference between our republican form of government, rightly administered, and any other in the world. Our citizens all have this common right of way, and the National Government is bound to protect it for all. No State, under pretence of sovereignty over its private enclosures, can shut up this path, or keep out any class of citizens from the right of way. It is the common law of the Constitution, anything in any State constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

A proclamation excluding all but *Albinos* and Protestants from the right of suffrage would be as rational and republican as an edict declaring that none but whites shall vote. It is the creation of a ruling aristocracy of the skin; and the power being once again concentrated in their hands, and the militia of the States at their disposal, nothing short of a revolution could recover it.

In a republic the conditions of suffrage are the conditions of sovereignty, and they belong to the people themselves to settle. They are the conditions of freedom; for the people cannot be free if these conditions are out of their power. A free people exercise the primal elementary right of self-government by voting in convention, and the right of voting belongs to every individual of the convention, as a primary assemblage of the people. This is the elementary condition of a free, popular, republican government.

EQUAL RIGHTS OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE IN CONVENTION, IRRESPECTIVE OF COLOR.

If the object of the convention be to appoint delegates or representatives for the proposed framing of a constitution to be submitted to the people for their acceptance, those representatives are clothed with all their power by the people. If among the things considered or framed in the constitution, they take up the conditions of suffrage to be prescribed, those conditions are to be referred to the people.

The convention cannot exclude any part of the people, any class, from that elementary right of primal sovereignty, in and by the permission and exercise of which the constitution itself was created, and out of which it grew. This would be for the creature to subjugate and disfranchise the Creator; for the branches to say to the roots, we, not ye, are the determining power.

The Convention may propose, and the people may ratify, such restrictions or conditions of the right of suffrage, bearing equally upon all persons, as may seem safest and best for the security of the liberties and rights of all; conditions, by which suffrage shall remain impartial, although not universal; conditions of age, or reading and writing, or a certain amount of property; but conditions available equally with all classes, and that can be reached and possessed impartially by all without respect to persons.

But no convention could rightfully propose, and no people justly accept and ratify, conditions taking away the primal natural right of personality—the right to vote—from whole classes of persons by reason of arbitrary personal distinctions, constituting one class inferior to the others, taking away all rights from the proscribed class, and giving to a favored class the right of sole government, which is the right of opinion.

No convention can have a right to proscribe a portion of the people, and no people can have the right to accept such proscription, or to put down a third part, or a fourth, or half of the people, at the mercy of the prejudice or power or supposed interest of the other half. But all this is inevitably accomplished by taking away the elementary right of self-government by representation from a class, or race, or caste, especially if designated by marks that include posterity, and are intended so to do, such as the color of the skin. It cannot be done without such crime against God and man as must be followed by destruction. It is setting injustice and oppression as the mainspring of society.

Yet this is what your memorialists believe to have been done by the President of the United States, in prescribing to the conventions called by proclamation in the rebel States a rule of suffrage excluding colored persons from the vote. He has proscribed a portion of the people. In vain will it be alleged that he has left this question to the legislatures of the States. He has created those legislatures by proscription of the blacks, and they will obey the law of their creation in perpetuating the oppression. At the outset he prejudged the case against the blacks, though possessing equal power to have determined it in their favor. In ordering the conventions of voters to be none but whites, he has ordered that the reconstructed governments should be none but white men's governments. It is in effect the precedent of Justice Taney carried into governmental practice, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect. Your memorialists implore Congress to retrieve the Government and country from the shame and cruelty of so great injustice, by nullifying all that has been done on this foundation, and appointing new conventions of all classes of the people with the right to vote irrespective of color.

THE RIGHT OF FREE BLACKS TO SUFFRAGE ADMITTED BY THE SOUTH, IN THE FORMATION OF OUR GOVERNMENT, AS EQUAL WITH THAT OF THE WHITES.—TESTIMONY OF MADISON.

8. In the formation of our Government, so unquestionably was the right of representation regarded as belonging to every free person, irrespective of color, that in the discussion as to the rule of suffrage, Gov. Edmund Randolph of Virginia presented as a leading principle "that the rights of suffrage ought to be proportioned to the number of free inhabitants." And Mr. Madison declared, speaking in behalf of slaveholders, and presenting their own views, that if ever the slaves were set free, the right of representation on their part would immediately follow. The words of Mr. Madison are in the 53d number of the *Federalist*, as follows: "It is only under the pretext that the laws have transformed the negroes into subjects of property, that a place is disputed them in the computation of numbers; and it is admitted that if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away, the negroes could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants." By the abolition of slavery, the time having come of the restoration here referred to of those rights of freedom which had been taken away, the negroes or colored citizens are entitled to the same right of representation as the white inhabitants.

This remarkable declaration of Madison, made with foresight of the abolition of slavery, and in prophesy of the rights that must ensue, was consistent with the affirmation in the Declaration of Rights prefixed to the constitution of the State of Virginia, namely: that "ALL MEN having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest, with an attachment to the community, HAVE THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE."

It deserves to be considered in connection with another prophetic paragraph in the writings of Madison on the Constitution of the United States: "I take no notice of an unhappy species of population abounding in some of the States, who, during the calm of a regular government, are sunk below the level of man; but who, in the tempestuous scenes of civil violence may emerge into the human character, and give a superiority of strength to any party with which they may associate themselves."

Emerging into the human character out of the tempest of the rebellion and war, they have proved themselves the only loyal class of citizens in the rebel States; and having allied themselves throughout with the party of loyalty and freedom in support of the United States Government, they have given to us that superiority of strength by which, under a guiding, Divine Providence, the rebellion has been conquered and the Government preserved.

Shall we now desert these faithful allies, and give them over into the hands of their former owners, under the grinding tyranny of black codes that will speedily reduce them to the condition of their former slavery? Your memorialists pray that by prompt and decisive interposition of Congress in their behalf, they may be forever secured from the possibility of such oppression. And they would add the declaration of Madison as to the protection requisite equally for all classes, that, "in a free government the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights." This is what we demand for ourselves; we can ask nothing less for others, since religious rights are irrespective of the color of the skin; and we have the right to demand in the name of God and justice that the civil rights of all persons be guaranteed in the same manner.

Whatever prevents this is inconsistent with the nature and objects of a free and equitable government.

THE GUARANTEE OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY, IRRESPECTIVE OF COLOR.

Your memorialists would urge the guarantee in the Constitution that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The freedom of the vote is one of our liberties. No citizen can be disfranchised except for crime, with sentence by due process of law. Again the vote is a property. That possession cannot be taken away except by crime, and with due process of law. But an Executive proclamation is not due process of law. Yet in the exclusion of the colored race from the right of suffrage, that property is taken away from the innocent and loyal, and bestowed upon criminals and traitors.

Meantime, pardon and property, liberty and suffrage, together with life, are bestowed upon rebels, the whole of whose estates, as well as life and liberty, are justly forfeited by crime. Property that belongs to the United States by two separate claims, namely, of statute justice for the crime of treason, and of public justice by the law of conquest, is given back to the rebels, amounting to hundreds of millions in value; property justly forfeited by their engaging in armed rebellion to overthrow the Government, and compelling us into a war of self-defence against that piratical invasion at the cost of a national debt of three thousand millions. Your memorialists pray that the claims of loyal citizens and soldiers be fulfilled before the property belonging to the Government, and which might be appropriated towards the payment of this vast national debt, is given back to unrepentant rebels. Your memorialists know of cases in which the widows of loyal soldiers slain in battle for the defence of their country against these rebels, have labored incessantly in vain to obtain the soldiers' pay due to them by law, while the requests of rebels have been immediately granted, and their confiscated properties restored to them.

THE PROPERTY OF REBELS SUBDUED IN WAR BELONGS TO THE UNITED STATES.

10. Your memorialists can find no law or grant of power by which the President possesses authority over property belonging to the Government and people of the United States, to bestow it at his discretion upon rebels, from whom it has been taken by law of Congress in consequence of crime. But your memorialists find by provision in the third section of the fourth Article of the Constitution, that "The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." The case of the Shenandoah, and the giving back of that vessel by the British government to the government of the United States proves that in the judgment of foreign nations the property of the Confederate rebels belongs of right to their conquerors. Every portion of such property given back to rebels guilty of treason is a tax for the indulgence of their vices, and payment of their bills of crime, imposed upon the loyal subjects of the Government. Even in a suit at common law, they would have had to pay the costs, if defeated. Who are the parties compelled to foot the bills incurred by their rebellion in behalf of slavery? Poor farmers at the North are being taxed to the quick to pay the cost of the treason of rich rebel planters at the South, to whom the President is giving back their forfeited estates, with pardon.

JUSTICE AND THE EXECUTION OF THE LAWS THE DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT.

11. Your memorialists would also respectfully refer to the law of Congress passed July 17, 1862, making it the duty of the President to seize and use all the estate and property, monies, stocks and credits of all persons found in rebellion after sixty days' warning, as enemies' property, that has become the property of the United States. It appears to your memorialists that while that portion of this just and righteous law has been disregarded, another section of the same, giving to the President the right of pardon, has been fulfilled in place thereof, so that the exception has been made the rule, and the business of pardoning has been the main business transacted under a law, the object of which was to punish treason, and to subdue and crush the rebellion by just penalties. It does not appear how a pardon without trial can be conferred under this law upon persons who did not avail themselves of the possibility of pardon, on the conditions on which the law was promulgated by President Lincoln, namely, "to cease participating in, aiding, countenancing or abetting the existing rebellion, or any rebellion, against the Government of the United States, on pain of the forfeitures and seizures, as within and by sixth section provided."

Furthermore, it does not appear how the property forfeited by treason can justly revert to rebels, who did not avail themselves of the offer of amnesty, but continued in rebellion until subdued by war. Your memorialists respectfully ask that such property be applied in payment of the expenses of the war, or if any portion of it be given away, that it be bestowed upon loyal persons in need of it, and not upon rebels who abandoned it in order to fight against the United States Government.

And your memorialists pray that such lands or properties as may have been conveyed to freedmen in any part of the rebel States, under authority and guarantee of the United States, may be secured in their possession according to such guarantee, and not in any case restored to the former rebel owners.

SUPREMACY OF CONGRESS.—THE PRESENT THE DECISIVE OPPORTUNITY.

12. Your memorialists are aware that Congress have supreme authority in the government of the rebel States, and Divine Providence has put into their hands at the present moment the power to decide for all time in the right. If the present opportunity be neglected and a single State be admitted, with the right to disfranchise colored citizens, then forever after it will be too late to interfere. This injustice once received and sanctioned, the States that practice it will hold supremacy by it, and there will be no resistance against it. If not now required by the righteous authority of the Government to put it away, by that authority they will claim and keep it. It will have been received into the Government and made perpetual, and so far as any human agency is concerned, there is no hope of a remedy.

Your memorialists therefore pray that no State may be admitted into the Union with the proscription of color in its constitution or laws; neither Colorado, nor Tennessee, nor South Carolina, nor any other State, now applying for admission. Your memorialists pray that equality of all classes before the law, including the right of suffrage, the right of testimony, the right to bear arms, secured and protected for all classes as for the whites, may be required of the States in their constitutions and laws, before any of them are permitted to assume their former independent position in and under the Government of the United States.

That a renewal of the injustice for which the rebellion was undertaken may be rendered forever impossible, your memorialists further pray that an amendment be added to the Constitution in the words or to the intent following: That no State shall make any distinction in civil rights and privileges, on account of race, color, or parentage, among any of the citizens of the United States within its limits, either by classes or individuals.

In behalf of the petitioners and memorialists,

GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D.,
EDWARD GILBERT,
PARKER PILLSBURY, } Committee.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

From the Boston Transcript.

LONDON, November 8, 1865.

My Dear Friend: I confess that it makes me sorrowful to write to you. I have indeed put it off on that account. In your war I was never gloomy. I did not lose heart after Fredericksburg. But I am becoming gloomy now. Nor can I get comfort from other minds. All whom I meet, that were your warm friends in the war, are more or less sad—some direly so; but those who were your bitter enemies think President Johnson "very judicious," and seem highly contented.

You all had the fond hope (and in spite of Mr. Lincoln's weakness, so had I), that this was to be your *only* civil war. You fought it with magnificent, unsparing energy, in order to give peace forever to your children. But the ghastly vision now rises over me, and makes me sick, that you are doomed to follow in the bloody routine of the old world. With us it is an axiom, that kings have to be deposed and a dynasty exiled before they cease to conspire against the constitution. Even this did not cure Louis Napoleon.

I now miserably forebode, that you will have a civil war to decide whether President or Congress is to set the policy of the Union. All is in train for it, unless the next Congress *sternly* call the President to account. Nothing is clearer than that he has pretended to do things *experimentally* and *provisionally*, with the express aim of so entangling matters that the Congress should have no choice but to ratify all that he has done, and have no real directions of the public policy. It is just what Aberdeen or Palmerston has systematically done with the English Parliament, but would hardly dare to do in so terrible a crisis as yours. The first error was in not prosecuting Buchanan in the summer of 1861. The next was in enduring Mr. Lincoln's Louisiana Constitution, and his reply to Congress that he meant to violate the Confiscation Act, if he saw it to be for the public good.

Out of President Lincoln's high-handed settlement of affairs without Congress is developed the present policy of President Johnson. The conduct of Louis Napoleon in 1849, 1850, 1851, shows what a President, elected by the *people*, and independent of the Parliament for four years, can do, if he have large patronage. He has unity of action, promptitude, continuity. Congress has factions and long debates and long vacations; and when it comes to debate, finds itself too late. Your President's course (unless violently arrested) assures to you many years of instability and alarm, and *therefore* many years of high expenditure and high patronage, during all which time you will become *accustomed* to the Executive forestalling and superseding the Legislative. Out of this it will be almost a miracle, if so vast an Executive do not (like that of old Rome), involve you in another civil war, *even* if the negro question were to blow over in ten or twelve years' time.

I know the name of Mr. George L. Stearns only for honor, as a warm-hearted Abolitionist. I am the more alarmed, that he could put forward, as something satisfactory to your nation, the conversation he had with President Johnson, as I read it in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of October 23. (Perhaps *you* sent it to me.) I should have expected a clear-sighted Abolitionist to tell the President that his conduct tends to involve you in the *war of races* which he fancies negro-suffrage will cause. Such an utterance from a President is a terrible calamity, and deserves a public and bitter protest. If he choose to say it, let him say it; but let not an Abolitionist be the vehicle. A war of races can only arise from the injustice of the whites; and your President, while talking for justice, is resolved to secure that the whites shall be *able* to be unjust if they choose, and the negro (indeed the whole colored race) shall be *disabled* by law from any self-defence. Surely this is the way to cause a war of races.

Your President is like the Tory cavaliers of Charles I., who insisted that though the king ought to do what was just, yet no one should have the power of *forcing* him to be just; that would be impolite, would irritate him; his justice must come freely! So Andrew Johnson, the *Moses* of the colored men, is doing his worst to abandon them to injustice, if the whites are slow to learn. His conversation, as detailed by Major Stearns and countersigned by himself, is actually frightful. It does not cross his mind that as President he ought to regard men of all colors as equal, and that *the habit of injustice deserves no tenderness.* He proposes to give to white men *time* to learn to be just, and seems totally to forget that his liberality to their frailties is to be exercised at the expense of the colored race. He ignores the fact that in Tennessee and in Alabama negro testimony in court is rejected; and of course negroes on juries. He is infatuated with the idea that to forbid slavery except for *crime* will secure everything, while he is willing to allow white men to define that to be crime in a colored man which is not crime in a white man; for instance, to carry arms in self-defence, or to return a blow. In saying that the elective franchise is a political, not a natural right, he overlooks the whole basis of your Republic, which makes it the *natural* right of all men to have *equal political* rights. (If he insisted that whatever the law of the franchise is in other respects, color should have nothing to do with it, no one would ask more of him.) He affects a fear of straining his Presidential power if he did that in the rebel States which he ought not to do in Pennsylvania. This is virtually to condone rebellion, to forget that you are now *wholly responsible* for Southern institutions, and to make out that you have no right to take securities for the future.

If he feared to use too much Executive power, it was easy for him to summon Congress last May. But he had as much right to announce that the Federal Constitution had not the words *white* and *black* in it, and that on the rebel area he knew no law but Federal law and moral law, as he had to appoint military governors and keep up martial law. Worst of all, I think, is his allowing reorganization of the State militia. While doing this, and withdrawing Federal troops, he says: "If they (Southern States) go wrong, *the power is in our hands;* we can check them at any stage, *to the end*, and *oblige* them to correct their errors; we must be *patient* with them."

As your President is not at all deficient in understanding, I do not like to tell you what I think of this sentence; but he might surely be asked by a negro to explain wherein is the virtue of such *patience*. Sydney Smith would say, that A exercises sublime patience with B, while B is tormenting C. Does the President seriously say, that when the Federal troops are withdrawn, the State militia constituted, State rights restored, you have any power of "obliging" the States to "correct their ERRORS" *except by a new civil war?* Mr. Seward (in same paper) tells us at Auburn, for our comfort, that there cannot be a new civil war. It is comforting to the white race, but it is the knell of despair to the colored race. It secures that the "South shall be victorious," as Wendell Phillips puts it; and from despair alone will come a negro-uprising and war of races. This would bring on you lasting disgrace, instead of that moral glory which you had all but earned; it might make your whole future as stained as that of bloody old Europe. This conversation of the President, following on his heartless speech to the colored soldiers (so unlike his Nashville speech in October, 1864!) exhibits him as one who *cannot* come right except by external constraint; and Mr. Seward's speech is the warrant that the whole Cabinet is going wrong. (Have they corrupted him?) I see no possibility of Congress bringing him right by a mere *defensive* policy; it must assume the *aggressive* against him, to give it a chance of success. The mildest form of attack, I think, would be to invite him to explain his apparent neglect of the Act of Congress which forbids any one who has been in overt rebellion to hold office or draw pay from the Federal Government. Also, his allowing the reorganization of State militia should be solemnly denounced as initiating the means of a new rebellion. Sallust (I think) says, that not to reward meritorious public conduct is of little harm to a republic; but not to punish malversations is the seed of the gravest commotions. I sadly believe that you now need, not merely to punish treason, but to resent the ill use of high powers, if you are to avoid terrible results.

If Andrew Johnson were to address Congress with perfect frankness, he might say: "You passed a law to forbid rebels to hold high power; I have overruled that and put them in power again. You confiscated their estates; I have reduced that as nearly to a nullity as I can. The Constitution gave me power of pardoning criminals condemned by a court of justice; because in the best systems of jurisprudence there will be mistakes. I have assumed a more than regal power in a case of war and rebellion not foreseen, not provided for, and have forgiven in mass, against the expressed judgment of Congress, rebels whom I avowed, six months ago, it was necessary to punish. In consequence, I warn Northerners not to migrate southward and suppose the problem finished. I have given the old tyrants power to persecute; and all white men who talk of equality must *expect* to be persecuted, until after a lapse of years the leopard has changed its spots and "*white men have become black.*" Till then, let no one dream that we can dispense with *patience*, or have a prosperous South, a desirable field for immigration, or able (if willing) to pay Federal taxes. Such having been my deeds, I now trust you will find it is *impossible* to do anything but indorse all that I have done, and strengthen my hands to *oblige* the South *in the end* to do justice to the negro."

The answer to this should (virtually) be—It is possible to call *you* to account, for throwing away in six months of peace what we earned by four years war.

Mr. Seward admires a wound that "heals by the first intention;" so do I. Benjamin Butler, like a good surgeon cut clearly away the whole morbid part; then then the healing went on rapidly. Mr. Lincoln was frightened at this and displaced him. Ever since the system has been to cut off bit by bit the mortified parts. (If injustice enshrined by law and administered by the magistrate does not make a polity mortify, what does?) And now Mr. Johnson coolly avows, that *in the end* you can *always* correct the South and *oblige* it to do right. Will the Abolitionists allow dust to be flung into their eyes by the President, and take on themselves the guilt of paralyzing Congress?

MISSISSIPPI.

A CORRESPONDENT of the New York *Tribune* sends the following extracts (with his comments) from a bill now pending before the Mississippi Legislature, to be entitled

AN ACT TO CONFER CIVIL RIGHTS UPON FREEDMEN, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi*, That all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded in all the courts of law and equity of this State, and may acquire personal property and choses in action, by descent or purchase, and may dispose of the same, in the same manner, and to the same extent that white persons may.

A liberal sounding title, if it means "to confer civil rights upon the freedmen," but the "for other purposes" sticks out rather prominently before the bill is ended.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may intermarry with each other, in the same manner and under the same regulations that are provided by law for white persons; provided, that the clerk shall keep separate records of the same.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any white person to intermarry with any freedman, free negro or mulatto; and any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction thereof shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life; and those shall be deemed freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes who are of pure negro blood, and those descended from a negro to the third generation, inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, who do now and have heretofore lived and cohabited together as man and wife, shall be taken and held in law as legally married, and the issue shall be taken and held as legitimate for all purposes.

Very generous to take care that the race may go on, provided it keeps black enough to suit the complexion of the cotton fields, and the right material for ignorance and peonage be kept pure and plenty. The State Penitentiary opens its doors most willingly and for a cheerful period to all who may have streaks of dark-colored love about their foolish hearts.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That in addition to the cases in which free negroes and mulattoes are now by law competent witnesses, freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes shall be competent witnesses in all civil cases in which the freedman, free negro or mulatto, offering himself or herself as a witness, shall be a party to the record, and in which freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes shall be parties, both plaintiffs and defendants.

A magnificent "civil right" this—simply the privilege to swear against each other; but no black man, however honest, intelligent and truthful, can ever raise his voice in a judicial oath, where the person or property of any white man is at stake. From the negro's point of view this is simply barbarous, and no advance upon his old condition; but from another point it is still worse.

In all criminal cases the Government is in fact the prosecutor, and justice demands that every possible source of information and of truth should be open to its reach, and *all* evidence, however much or little its value, should go to the jury. Only in this way can justice ever be done or the rights and liberty of the people be preserved; and yet here, though a crime ever so heinous may have been committed by a white man, and that might be proved as clear as the light of the rising sun by a thousand honest and truthful black men, their mouths are shut, and the criminal goes free—and why? because their honest hearts are covered by a black skin, while his whole festering body of corruption may be wrapped up in a miserable rotten hide a few shades whiter.

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That every freedman, free negro and mulatto shall, on the second Monday of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof, as follows, to wit: If living in any incorporated city, town, or village, a license from the Mayor thereof; and, if living outside of any incorporated city, town, or village, from the member of the Board of Police of his beat, authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work, or a written contract, as provided in section six of this act, which licenses may be revoked for cause, at any time, by the authority granting the same.

And so, his very right to live at all, or to do "irregular and job work," or any other—for all the rest comes under "contract"—depends upon the whim of some city mayor or village board of police.

SEC. 7. *Be it further enacted*, That all contracts for labor made with freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, for a longer period than one month, shall be in writing and in duplicate, attested and read to said freedman, free negro, or mulatto, by an officer, or two disinterested white persons of the county in which the labor is to be performed, of which each party shall have one, and said officer or disinterested white persons shall require bond, and, if deemed necessary, approved security for the protection of said laborer, and said contracts shall be taken and held as entire contracts, and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer before expiration of his term of service, without just cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year, up to the time of quitting.

Why not stop just here?—but read on—

SEC. 8. *Be it further enacted*, That every civil officer shall, and every person may arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his term of service without good cause, and said officer or person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employee aforesaid, the sum of five dollars and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery, and the same shall be held by the employer, and held as a set off for so much against the wages of said deserting employe, provided that said arrested party after being so returned may appeal to a justice of the peace or member of the board of police of the county, who, on notice to the alleged employer, shall try summarily whether said appellant is legally employed by the alleged employer, and has good cause to quit said employer; either party shall have the right of appeal to the County Court, pending which the alleged deserter shall be remanded to the alleged employer, or otherwise disposed of as shall be right and just, and the decision of the County Court shall be final.

SEC. 9. *Be it further enacted*, That upon the affidavit made by the employer of any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or other credible person before any justice of the peace, or member of the board of police, that any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, legally employed by said employer, has legally deserted said employment, such justice of the peace or member of the board of police shall issue his warrant or warrants, returnable before himself, or other such officer directed to any sheriff, constable, or special deputy, commanding him to arrest said deserter and return him to said employer, and the like proceedings shall be as provided in the previous section; and it shall be lawful for any officer to whom such warrant shall be directed to execute said warrant in any county of this State, and that said warrant may be transmitted without endorsement to any like officer of another county, to be executed and returned as aforesaid, and the said employer shall pay the costs of said warrants and arrest and return, and which shall be set off for so much against the wages of said deserter.

This is "the law of contract!" This is the majesty of "civil rights!!" This is the acme of human freedom!!! Where else in all the wide world do freemen or freedmen possess such glorious privileges of being not sued in damages for breach of contract, not to forfeit their wages earned, simply, but hunted from highway to byway, from mountain to swamp, all over the State, and brought back as felons and murderers by *anybody*, officer or not, so some justice of the peace will permit him to enter the hunt. And when caught, have to pay the expense of being dogged from hiding-place to hiding-place, as though they were owned body and soul by him who claims their labor. Why is this with the freed black more than with the free white? Can the Legislature of Mississippi tell us why?

SEC. 10. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person shall, or shall attempt to persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to desert from the legal employment of any person before the expiration of his term of service, or shall employ any such deserting freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or shall give or sell to any such deserting freedman, free negro, or mulatto, any food, raiment, or other thing, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, he shall be fined not less than $25 and not more than $200 and the costs, and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding two months' imprisonment in the county jail, and he shall, moreover, be liable to the party injured in damages; *Provided*, if any person shall, or shall attempt to persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, to desert from the legal employment of any person, with the view to employ said freedman, free negro, or mulatto, within the limits of this State, such person, on conviction, shall be fined not less than $50 and not more than $500 and the costs, and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding six months' imprisonment in the county jail.

In her palmiest days slavery knew no choicer morsel of comfort than this—peonage in deed!

But here comes a tempting piece of deception and trickery worthy of the hero of "the hoops."

SEC. 11. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to charge any white

person, freedman, free negro, or mulatto, by affidavit, with any criminal offense against his person or property, or the person or property of any other freedman, free negro, or mulatto, and upon such affidavit the proper process shall be issued and executed as if such affidavit had been made by a white person, and it shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, in any action, suit, or controversy pending or about to be instituted in any court of law or equity of this State, to make all needful and lawful affidavits as shall be necessary for the institution, prosecution, or defence of such suit or controversy.

Sec. 12. *Be it further enacted*, That the penal laws of this State, in all cases not otherwise specially provided for, shall apply and extend to all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

Sec. 13. *Be it further enacted*, That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Yes, make any affidavit necessary to bring a suit—but after it is brought, *all* black lips are forever sealed—and not a particle of black testimony can ever be given to sustain the action. What is the result? Simply this, the action fails. The poor black plaintiff is mulcted in costs and goes to the defendant's plantation, a sold heathen, to work out the folly of trying to get justice by law.

When Lee's and Johnston's armies surrendered, and for long after, no such follies as these were in the Southern mind. They were crushed out. The South went to war *staking all*—and, losing, felt that all was lost, and was ready to abide the issue. But foolish concessions have aroused old hopes and strengthened weak arms.

Peonage is becoming a reality; an old slavery of many afflictions is dying, but to be raised into a new misery with enormities and horrors untold. But Mississippi has spoken in season. Let the nation be warned, and no matter who may favor such reconstruction: let the nation put its iron hand firmly down and grind to atoms the head of such a miserable and venomous serpent.

A word as to the city. Its shops are full; the display is magnificent; prices not far above New York; trade enormous—never better; the levees are being generally repaired, and after five years of accumulated ruin, it is needed. The papers are full of abuse of the colored soldiers; ex-Confederates are being welcomed home in highfalutin paragraphs; rebel grey is sported here and there, as though it was something to be proud of. But Northern men are no longer called d—d Yankees; they speak their minds, and last night held an ultra-Republican meeting in New Orleans and were unmolested.

St. James.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

No State shall make any distinction in civil rights and privileges among the naturalized citizens of the United States residing within its limits, or among persons born on its soil of parents permanently resident there, on account of race, color, or descent.

The Standard Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

WILL CONGRESS STAND FIRM?

Henry Wilson thought two months ago that the Senate was a more radical body than the House; since the begining of the session he has probably found cause to correct that opinion. The Senate on Tuesday so far modified the Stevens resolution as to make it concurrent instead of joint, and struck out the clause prohibiting the admission of any Rebel claimants to either House until the final report of the Committee, together with the scarcely less important requirement that all papers on the subject should be referred without debate to that Committee. These alterations, if assented to by the House, undoubtedly weaken the resolution essentially. Whether the House agrees, will be known before this comes to our readers, so we need hazard no prediction. If it agrees, the strongest barrier against the admission of the Rebel States is broken down. The resolution in its original form would have bound both houses till both had repealed it, securing thus a perfect unanimity of action, which would have given a permanent ascendency to the present radical majority in the lower house, and probably have secured the exclusion of all Southern applicants during the whole session. At all events they would have been left out till Congress had matured its own policy of reconstruction. We deplore the change because it converts a certainty into an uncertainty; yet we shall not regard a concession by the House on this point as necessarily an omen of disaster.

The main work and final result of the session are to be determined by other influences than the phraseology of a resolution. Conservative journals strive to create the belief that the House has shown a change of temper since Thad. Stevens led a compact and well-drilled majority, from which no single Republican fell out, to the adoption of his resolution both in the caucus and the House. The proceedings do not seem to us to indicate any such change. Let us take a swift glance at them. Monday of last week was signalized by the passage of the Stevens resolution, and the House adjourned with the feeling that it had done a good work. Tuesday came the Message—listened to attentively, but ineffective. Wednesday, Mr. Farnsworth, of Illinois, offered a resolution declaring that the Union ought to give the ballot to those who had carried the bayonet, and moved the previous question. The House was not ready to vote on such a question without debate, nor to accept Mr. Farnsworth as its leader in a matter involving half the issues of the session; so the resolution went over, but not at all from a feeling of hostility to its declarations. An adjournment till Monday followed. On Monday, Mr. Niblack, an Indiana Democrat, offered a resolution admitting the Southern claimants to the privileges of the floor, and moved to suspend the rules to put the same on its passage, which the House promptly refused to do by the decisive vote of 40 to 111. Among the yeas, however, figures Mr. Raymond of New York. Tuesday, Mr. Raymond presented the credentials of the Tennessee representatives. Mr. Stevens objected that Tennessee was not a State known to the House, but the Speaker overruled him on the ground that the usage was uniform to present credentials as a question of privilege, and that the House could determine whether they should be laid on the table or referred to a committee—a ruling which might be made to cover all the Southern credentials. The credentials being received, an effort was made to get them sent to the Committee on Elections of which Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts is Chairman, and is understood to be rather favorably disposed toward the Tennessee and other claimants. Mr. Raymond indicated that he would prefer such a disposition, but saw the House would not stand it, and moved that they go to Mr. Stevens' committee when appointed; and thither, accordingly, they went. The remark of Mr. Raymond that he desired to secure the earliest possible admission of the Tennessee members appears to have influenced the House to take that course which would postpone instead of accelerating final action on the question. Subsequently, a resolution was passed inviting Messrs. Taylor, Maynard, and the rest, to occupy seats in the hall, 35 Republicans voting nay—and rightly voting nay. It is a mistake and a weakness to allow a discrimination in favor of the Tennesseans. Mr. Maynard is personally popular, Col. Taylor and Col. Stokes are officers who fought on the right side and have a good record during the war, but the issues at stake are too momentous to permit them to be affected by personal considerations. What the President means is to make Tennessee the entering wedge. The Republican majority would have done wisely to resist, yet in yielding they certainly intended nothing more than a personal compliment to Maynard and his colleagues, which they had just refused to pay to the claimants from other States. Previously to this vote, Mr. Eldridge of Wisconsin, (dem.) attempted to get through a resolution indorsing the President's theories about secession and declaring "we will cordially sustain and support the President in any and all Constitutional efforts in his policy of reconstruction." To this the House showed no mercy, refusing by 25 to 108 to second the demand for the previous question.

The foregoing includes, we believe, every vote during the last week material to an understanding of the temper of the House on reconstruction. We fail to find in the record much indication of weakness. The House can hardly be expected to strike twelve every day. It will do some foolish things in the course of the session. It may concur with the Senate in emasculating its own resolution. It may even admit Tennessee and still hold to its purpose of excluding the rest, though that would be a triumph for the President which we hope to see postponed. The House has plenty of bad material in it: has two prominent men at least who will betray it whenever it will pay better to betray than to keep faith. Such men as Raymond of New York and Banks of Massachusetts, without convictions, selfish, unscrupulous, adroit, of great influence with their party spite of their known faithlessness, may do us a world of harm. Presidential influence and patronage will cost us much. The Radical press will often forsake the cause it is pledged to uphold. Mr. Greeley, of course, is for harmonizing President and Congress, forgetting that the President is to be controlled by no influence but force, and that either he or Congress must abandon convictions which in their nature are irreconcilable. But there is an influence greater than all these, the influence of public opinion. If the people are right, Congress cannot go wrong. The session is to be a long one; delay in admitting the Southern States is the settled policy. The Stevens resolution, even in the Senate form, gives us delay. There will be time for the people to make its voice heard and the duty of every patriot now is so to work, that the voice of the people may be growing every day stronger on the side of Justice and Freedom.

THE JAMAICA IMBROGLIO.

The readers of the Standard are already aware of the recent terrible outrages by the government authorities in Jamaica on the colored population of the island under pretence of suppressing an insurrection or rebellion. The last arrivals from Great Britain have brought full accounts of that most remarkable occurrence. From the statements made and not contradicted, the only wonder is that downright revolution has not desolated the island long ago. The historian Allison piles up reasons and inevitable causes for a dozen French revolutions, and yet blamed one for coming. But as well and wisely might he have blamed an eruption of Etna or Vesuvius.

The subterranean fires of the human soul have their hour and their law, all under Divine control like the volcanoes of the Andes. Jamaica has been so governed as that it is complimentary to human nature that the eruption waited so long and was not worse when it came. No wonder it has waked as never before the whole British Press. Metropolitan, provincial, political, literary, religious—all are thundering away in common chorus, with voices like the roar of lions from the swellings of Jordan. The London *Spectator* well says:

"When we recall the abominable legislation which, during a two years' drought, that pressed on the poor provision-growers of Jamaica as heavily as two years' bad harvests would press on England if there were no large stores of capital to relieve the distress, kept up a general import duty of 12 per cent. *ad valorem* on all classes of imports, which taxes (as we believe, still—certainly it was so within the last few years) salt provisions, meat, fish, and farinaceous food, as high as 30 to 40 per cent., and levies on each poor provision-grower's cart 18*s*. annually, while the great planters' carts, if used only on the estate and not traversing the roads, are not taxed at all; which takes 10*s*. a *head for horses, but* leaves the planters' draft-stock oxen free; which taxes the planter's exports at 3*s*. a hogshead, and the small settlers' sugar, ginger, coffee, arrowroot, at 2*s*. a barrel; which provides no education at all worth mention for the poor negro out of a very wasteful expenditure, and which has failed to supply any county court in which the poor man can get sure and cheap justice—when we recall all this, there seems to be no difficulty in accounting for this rebellion. England will call for a searching investigation into the bloody measures adopted to suppress the rebellion.

The *Economist* has the following:

"The governing power in Jamaica resides, and for two hundred years has resided, in an elective assembly, created under a royal charter, and as independent as any Canadian or Australian parliament. The members of this assembly are forty-seven in number, and are elected by all classes alike if possessed of a freehold of £6. a year. This franchise would not include a great number, the negroes seldom owning land; but lest it should include too many, the Assembly, soon after emancipation, passed a law compelling every voter to register himself every year, and pay a registration fee of 10*s*. This rule, which would check English voters, has almost stopped negro voting, till the Assembly is almost entirely in the hands of persons who vote for the sake of retaining power. The majority are whites, with a few colored members, and we believe two negroes, one of whom has just been hanged by Col. Hobbs, and their capacity may be best estimated from Mr. Trollope's masterly sketch of their proceedings. In capacity the Assembly is about equal—to put it at its highest—to a country vestry in a remote district, while in character it is much lower, its proceedings being characterized by selfishness, and it is greatly to be feared by venality. The greater planters will not enter it, the negroes detest it, and it has since emancipation raised the tariff to an enormous height, rendered the colony almost insolvent, and completely neglected education, public works, and the administration of justice."

In a speech in the House of Assembly by Hon. H. A. Whitelocke, are the following fearful disclosures:

"He (Mr. Whitelocke) would make an assertion which could not be gainsaid by his successor, that taxation could not be extended; not one farthing more could be imposed upon the people, who were suffering peculiar hardship from the increased value of wearing apparel, which was now taxed beyond all bounds: actually they were paying thirty-eight per cent. now, when twelve and a half per cent. was before considered an outrageous ad valorem duty. Cotton goods, including Osnaburgh and all the wearing apparel of the laboring classes, had increased 200 per cent. in value; what was bought at fourpence per yard before was selling at a shilling per yard. Therefore the people are now paying a penny-halfpenny duty on every yard of cloth, instead of one half-penny, which has been justly described as a heavy impost. The consequence is that a disgusting state of nudity exhibited itself in some parts of the country. Hardly a boy under ten years of age wore a frock, and adults, from the ragged state of their garments, exhibited those parts of the body where covering was especially wanted. This year's decrease in imports foreshadowed what was coming. Sugar was down again at £11 per hogshead; coffee was falling; pimento was valueless; logwood was scarcely worth cutting; and, moreover, a sad diminution was effected in our chief staple exports from a deficiency of rain."

The present Governor of the island seems to be worthy of his station under such laws as exist. He might be a cross between the judge Jeffreys of his own country and judge Lynch of this. No sooner was he aware of the disturbance than he was seized with a madness most unaccountable; but terrible to all who became its victims. In a dispatch of four or five solid columns addressed to the Foreign Secretary of the British government, Mr. Cardwell, he attempts a report of his dire proceedings in suppressing his rebellion. And a more unjust, cruel and contradictory account never disgraced the archives of any country claiming the lowest type of civilization.

In his tour of observation he says he "found everywhere the most unmistakable evidence" that Mr. G. W. Gordon had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion." A little further on he says, "I cannot myself doubt that the rebellion is in a great degree due to Dr. Underhill's letter, and the meetings held in connection with that letter."

The letters of these two gentlemen are before us, and to attribute anything to them like tendency to insubordination, and still less to butchery of helpless defenceless people, is as unjust as to charge the overthrow of Babylon to the lamentations of Jeremiah, or the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans to the sweating agony in the Garden of Gethsemane.

Mr. Gordon, though born a slave and slightly colored, was a magistrate of five parishes, a member of the legislature, a respectable, worthy man, with a white English wife, also educated and refined, with three sisters all married to white men of culture and character, and from most unquestionable testimony he seems to have been a person of exalted philanthropy, integrity, honor and all the manly virtues. Next week we hope to give his letter and also Dr. Underhill's. Readers may then judge how far such men or their words lean towards insubordination, rapine and blood.

Our nation should study well this Jamaica apocalypse. It is another providential voice of warning. Let reconstruction leave the colored race powerless and despised as now in the rebel States, and as sure as the God and avenger of that race lives, we shall, at no distant day, learn that he has still an ear for their cry and thunderbolts for their deliverance.

PRESS AND PRESIDENT.

A Washington dispatch informs the public that some four hundred editorials on the Message have been received at the White House, ninety-nine in a hundred of which "heartily endorse the policy pursued by the President in the past, and approve and commend the measures he proposes for the future."

If that be so, we can only say that the President's Secretary must have been kept busy weeding out the unfriendly criticisms. We do not think the general tone of the newspapers on the Message creditable to the press or helpful to the country, but it is absurd to represent them as so unanimous on great questions of policy that only four out of four hundred find anything in the Message, or even in the President's acts during the last eight months, to criticize. A dispatch which asserts it, asserts what cannot be true, but what very likely the President and his flatterers would be glad to have the country accept as true.

From our own reading of the papers, which has been pretty wide, we should say that the Radical Republicans criticize the Message in many instances with plainness, but in most with far too little emphasis of dissent. There is a general surprise at the President's hesitation to enforce his scheme, which begets a belief that perhaps after all an open rupture between him and his party may be avoided. They forget that the strength of the opposition to his policy is what compelled the President to desist from any part of his purpose of forcing it upon Congress, and that exactly in proportion as that opposition gives way to conciliation or doubt, the President will grow strong and they will grow weak. The conservative Republicans praise the Message, but there is a want of heartiness in the praise as well as in the criticism, and for the same reason. The President has disappointed the expectations of the Conservatives by his cautious championship of his and their plan. The Democrats have scarcely been able to make up their minds. Them, too, the President has disappointed, in failing to force the rebel representatives into Congress. So that altogether, we do not estimate the general feeling of the political parties and presses as conveying more than a moderate approval of the President. There certainly has been nothing like enthusiasm about the Message.

The Chicago *Tribune*, one of the two leading journals of the West, and at times the most radical of Republican journals, East or West, illustrates fairly this indecisive temper. It says:

"The President's Message is a moderate and careful paper, temperate almost to conservatism, and evincing a desire not to commit himself unnecessarily to a partizan support of any of the measures on which public opinion is seriously divided."

After which it proceeds to comment in detail on the reconstructive opinions of the Message, and characterizes the President's assumption of control over legislative questions as "over-reaching and untenable."

The Cincinnati *Gazette*, the other of the two leading journals of the West, but which latterly has not approached its Chicago rival in radicalism of tone, remarks:

"Whatever complaint may be heard with reference to the Message from supporters of President Johnson, will be in consequence, not of anything he has said, but of something he has omitted to say. It will probably be urged that he has not been sufficiently explicit on the question of reconstruction; that he has not presented in desirable fulness his views of the condition of the States lately in rebellion, and whether he considers them in a proper condition to be readmitted to the exercise of civil rights."

Coming to New York, we find the *Tribune* praising the Message, but with reservations "on a single point." Before we get through the article, the single point multiplies itself into several, of which the following is the most forcibly put:

"To talk of referring the Suffrage question to *the States*, is to darken counsel by dexterous phrases. The obvious question, 'Who *constitute* the State?' at once shows that the difficulty is not solved but evaded. To submit this fundamental question to *all* the people of the State, is very well; to submit it to that portion only of the people who have, with hardly an exception, been rebels, and allow them to punish the steadfast Unionists by rigorous disfranchisement and proscription is not well. And if 'good faith requires' of the Union 'the security of the freedmen in their liberty and their property, their right to labor,' and its just recompense, then it must be that we have power to compass these ends by enfranchisement, since nothing short of this will prove effective. Good faith cannot require us to achieve an end whereof the means are beyond our power."

The *Times*, whose editor had just been voting in Congress under Thad. Stevens' lead to condemn the whole policy for which the Message is the official apology, cannot say too much in praise of the Message itself:

"Probably no Executive document was ever awaited with greater interest than the Message transmitted to Congress yesterday. It is safe to say that none ever gave greater satisfaction when received. Its views on the most momentous subjects, domestic and foreign, that ever concerned the nation, are full of wisdom, and are conveyed with great force and dignity."

The *World* had no opinion at first, but subsequently musters courage to say:

"Although President Johnson's Message is not quite free from inconsistency, and leaves something to be desiderated in vigor of tone, the general soundness of its doctrines will presently bring him into conflict with Congress, if he holds steadily to his course, and they to theirs."

The *Herald* is eulogistic without qualification:

"It embodies a clear, frank, and unreserved exposition of the views and purposes by which he has been guided in his policy of Southern restoration. .... Upon the vexed question of negro suffrage, especially, his justification is complete and overwhelming."

The *Evening Post*, once foremost among Radical leaders of public opinion, now bringing up the rear of the Conservatives, seems to regret that the President hesitates to prolong his usurpation by demanding from Congress a formal register of his Executive decrees:

"He is not as strong and decided as we expected from the energy of his character, *or as the circumstances would warrant*, in his treatment of reconstruction. He defers more to the opinion of Congress than we supposed he would. His previous course had led us to hope that he would *insist* upon as rapid a restoration of the political relations of the South as might be compatible with safety. The passage of the Constitutional Amendment, *which really removes the whole ground of controversy*, we imagined would be made his single condition, *sine qua non*, his test of loyalty, his means of general conciliation and settlement. But he abandons the entire matter to Congress with a simple history of what he had himself done."

The *Independent* quotes the remark of the President that the franchise, if extended to freedmen in the South, must have been extended to all colored men in the North, and wonderingly asks:

"Is it possible that such a statement can have been made in *sober* earnest by a President of the United States? If so, it is as wild and wayward *as any utterance of the same gentleman's memorable inauguration speech as Vice-President*. Does Mr. Johnson mean to say there is no difference between the relations of the Federal Government toward States that have been loyal and toward States that have been rebel? .... Is it not effrontery, therefore, is it not mockery, is it not nonsense, to say he is stopped from propounding a certain just and equitable condition of reconstruction, because, in order to fix it upon the South, he must at the same time fix it upon the North? The Federal Government has *no* such rights over the North, but has *all* such rights over the South. Such a position as this of the Message, whether it be taken by a President, or only by a coachman or kitchen gardener, is nothing less than preposterous.

"But the question whether the Message is good, bad, or indifferent, is of more importance to the President than to the country."

The rebel organs disagree widely in their estimates. The following, from the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, is not without force:

"That part of the Message which treats of reconstruction, reads like a loosely-written general treatise upon the nature and powers of federative governments, in which the writer felt himself alternately attracted and repelled by the truth. It is evidently an attempt to doctrinize the policy that has thus far been pursued toward the rebel States by the Administration. How, while he has legitimate authority to oblige the States so to amend their constitutions as to prohibit slavery, he has no power to oblige them so to amend as to confer the elective franchise upon the negroes, he does not inform us; nor does he inform us how, when the States are so far in the Union that they can aid in amending the National Constitution, they are so far out of the Union that their representatives are inadmissible to seats in the National Legislature.

"In its errors in doctrine and errors in fact, its unsound ethics and its unsound politics, its partial views, and its extreme ones, the Message is a very accurate representative of the prevailing intellectual and moral confusion of the times."

The N. Y. *Daily News*, on the other hand, says:

"The relations of the Government toward the negroes are discussed with marked ability, and that part of the Message seems to have been elaborated with the greatest care. We do not think that any one will dare to assail his justification of his refusal to confer the right of suffrage upon the freedmen of the South, and are equally sure that every just man will concur with him that to the several States must be left the settlement of the question of suffrage within their own limits.

"It will be seen from this brief review of the President's restoration policy, that it is in direct antagonism with the revolutionary schemes propounded by the Radical majority in Congress, through Mr. Sumner in the Senate and Mr. Stevens in the House."

The encomiums of the *Richmond Whig* are in the same tone.

"The following sentence is regarded by some with apprehension: '*Here it is for you, fellow-citizens of the Senate, and for you, fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives, to judge, each of you for yourselves, of the elections, returns, and qualifications of your own members.*'

"We cannot and do not suppose that the President means, by this language, to commit himself to an unresisting acquiescence in any action that Congress may take in the matter of excluding Southern members. The jurisdiction of each House over the 'elections, returns, and qualifications' of its members is exclusive. The President would not interfere with it, but it is very clear to our mind that he will not yield a tame acquiescence in Congressional action that shall go further and refuse Southern representation upon the ground that the President has transcended his powers in promising restoration to the Southern States upon a compliance with the conditions prescribed by him. * * * Whatever may be the action of Congress, and however much the restoration policy of President Johnson may be contravened or modified by its legislation, it is due to that eminent statesman to say that, in his Message—that gravest form of official utterance—he has fully met the highest expectations of the conservative and patriotic classes of the country."

Most of the above extracts are from leading journals—the journals which supply opinions to their weaker brethren throughout the country. At least half of them criticize instead of endorsing the Message. We have many more, had we room to print them; but the above will indicate the tone of public opinion as well as a much larger number could.

A THANKSGIVING PRESENT TO THE LORD OF HOSTS.

The Thanksgiving Discourse of Rev. Dr. Cheever, on Isaiah xviii., 7, presented the admission of the colored race to equal rights with the white race, and their elevation by education, religion, and security of freedom, as an obligation of gratitude to God on the part of our nation. Some of the difficulties in the way, and the responsibility for them, in the work of reconstruction up to the time of the reassembling of Congress, were presented as follows, after a history of the Divine interposition abolishing slavery by rebellion and war.

The age, the nation, the Constitution, our churches, our piety, were drugged by the poison of slavery, and buried within this sepulchre. As with a thunder-stroke God has broken it open. The whole earth never was so moved by one of God's judgments. It is a judgment by means of which, if we have the heart, the world may be taken as in a chariot and carried onward; the age may be transfigured. The dead Lazarus among nations has been raised; it remains to be seen whether the remnant of his existence is to be demonstrated by mere eating and drinking; or whether the spirit of the man has got a resurrection as well as his body; whether the spirit of the age and nation will come forth, and show itself worthy of this miracle, inspired by gratitude to God who has wrought it; whether the spirit of the nation will cast off its grave-clothes and put on the robe of transfiguration, or go about shrouded in its old sins. Is the cruelty of its dread prejudice against color consumed by the lightning that in one and the same flash has opened its own prison and melted the chains of the enslaved? leaving the nation at liberty, if it will, to prove its own regeneration and exercise the power of regeneration, in raising up this hitherto oppressed race, and securing to them, irrespective of color, all the rights and privileges which we demand for ourselves? This is the question of our spirit, our true life; this the demand upon the age, this the test of its true freedom and progress. Is it superior to this detestable prejudice of color? Will it cast it off? Will it break in pieces the State idols of its grim, terrible worship? Will it permit the angels of God, the events of Divine Providence, to cast it off and grind it to powder, and make the rebels drink it, at the command of Him who has brought the nation from its sepulchre?

We have reason to thank God that Congress have begun well, on resuming the reins of government. There is a purpose of righteousness and justice there, and the foundations laid are good, and the positions taken by the friends of the country and of the colored race are such as they cannot be dislodged from; but will gain the victory by them, if they hold to them, and fight the coming battle in reliance on the justice and protection of the Almighty.

But until the Congress assembled, the prospect was dark. The rule of treatment established for the colored race was of prejudice against color, oppression on account of color. For six months the work of reconstruction had been going on upon that ground; only white men allowed to vote; a foundation of prejudice and attainder against the colored race, which provides for, if it does not inevitably secure, every oppression in its train. The edict appointing white men to do the voting, and excluding all others, made the governments so constructed exclusively white men's governments; for the ostracism of the blacks, by reason of color, from voting, was the exclusion of them from all share in governing, and the establishment of the whites in the freedom of oppressing them at pleasure, and of doing it by law. This edict was followed by States North as well as South, the prejudice against color blazing up everywhere with new intensity at that signal, being sanctified and rendered almost divine in its authority in the view of religious States like those of Connecticut and Wisconsin, where the people hastened to re-enact the counsels of Ahab and the statutes of the House of Omri. Such has been the progress.

But passing by all this, I take for an example, illustration, and proof of the power of this prejudice, and its instalment as a rule of oppression instead of justice, a recent instance—not in the rebel States, but within the bosom of the General Government, by authority of the President. It is not drawn from the histories of outrage and wrong perpetrated upon the freedmen at the South, out of reach of the arm of the government abroad, but from the record of the acts of the Executive at home; presenting the Government under dominion of the prejudice against color, at the moment when the Congress reassembles.

The report of the case in the newspapers is as follows:

A month ago, a general in our army, who had been sentenced to five year's imprisonment for crime, was released on the ground of his long and gallant services. The sentence had no sooner been pronounced, when the President interfered in his behalf and pardoned him. Compare this treatment of *crime* with that of *color*, in the course adopted in regard to colored soldiers, who had served their country with equal gallantry, unstained with crime. When they asked their just wages, they were deprived by decision of the paymaster of the forces of the bounty that had been promised them. Could not their *color* have been pardoned, on the ground of their gallant services, as well as the *crime* of a white officer? An appeal was made, but the President declined to interfere in their behalf. He could interfere to shield rebels and restore their estates, and to take away the right of suffrage from the blacks and give it to the whites; but not to pay the colored soldiers their due.

The Attorney-General being consulted in their behalf, decided that bounty allowances ought to be given to all classes of colored troops, and accordingly orders were so issued. Forthwith—the very day of the proclamation of thanksgiving—there appeared a notice from the office of the Paymaster, proclaiming that the decision of the Attorney-General giving bounty allowance to all classes of colored troops, was, by direction of the President, thereby cancelled. The effect of this cancelment was to deprive of their bounties such colored soldiers as had been slaves when they were enlisted by our Government as soldiers, and the reason for such deprival was, that they were slaves when enlisted. This was an interference against them, to carry into their free condition the oppression of their slave condition. The soldiers have been fighting gallantly for their country, but they have been once slaves and were such when taken for soldiers, and that cannot be pardoned; they were colored, and that cannot be pardoned; they must be deprived of their bounty for that quality of color, and for being slaves in the gallant service of their country, while a great, conspicuous white criminal must be pardoned for his crime, because he was an officer, and had served his country as a white man and freeman.

These are some of the examples of prejudice against color, and the observance of slave laws, and the continuance of oppression on the ground of precedent, by a Government whose officers are sworn to administer justice without respect to persons, and to execute the laws and Constitution of the United States, and not the laws and usages of slave-States.

The decision of the Attorney-General was a decision of law, as by the Constitutional adviser of the Government determined. The President cancelled the corresponding order by military authority, to prevent colored troops that were slaves when enlisted from receiving their bounty. It was an interference not in behalf of justice, but injustice. The Commander says to these colored soldiers, you shall not have your bounty, because, when you enlisted you were being unjustly treated as slaves, you were oppressed to the last degree. We, therefore, oppress you still—not to the same degree, but as time is a great element in reform, we must wait and do justice slowly. We took you for soldiers, because you were slaves and could not help yourselves. We have had your services, and the Almighty has saved us by your instrumentality, and now we refuse to pay you what is your due, because you were slaves when we impressed you for soldiers. We repay your long and gallant service in the war by withholding your bounty. This is the kind of treatment you have been accustomed to as slaves; your wages were always withholden from you; we continue that treatment. We go back to slave usages for the precedent of your treatment as free soldiers, because you were slaves when we made you soldiers. And we appoint a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for continuing to us as a nation, through the instrumentality of your services, the privilege and power of trampling the colored race under the white race. Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord God, and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this? They overpass and pardon the deeds of the wicked, but they judge not the cause of the fatherless, yet they prosper, and the right of the needy they do not judge. Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord, and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation?

But it is said that the President leaves it to the States. On the contrary, it is the only one thing that he has not left to the States, but has determined it for them beforehand. The one distinctive, explicit—fundmental principle ordered and appointed by his proclamations of reconstruction, was that only whites should vote. In a proclamation, by its very nature, by the very fact of its publication, casting aside and wiping out as null and void the constitutions and laws of the rebel States, and asserting and exercising over them the supreme authority of the Constitution, laws, and Government of the United States as the sole existing government, President Johnson selected that rule from the old Black-Code to guide all the processes of the reconstruction of a State government for freemen, that none but whites should vote. It was his edict. He has himself set that attainder of color at the foundation. *Qui facit per alium facit per se.* If he had left others to do it, still it would have been his act, because he had all the power, and it was only by permission from him that any man or body of men could do it, whether provisional governor or legislature. And he that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin. And he that knoweth to prevent evil, and preventeth it not, to him it is sin. Especially if he could, by a stroke of his pen, as was in President Johnson's power, have not only prevented the evil, but established the good to all generations. Having the power to have set the good principle, he has set the evil as the mainspring.

But if it were true that he had left it to the States, what has he left? The power of attainder on account of color, the power of an injustice and cruelty forbidden in the Constitution, the power of moral assassination of millions by exclusion from the vote. The Congress could not have passed such a bill of pains and penalties, and the Constitution forbids either the Congress or the States from doing it.

But the President, it is said, has passed it over to the States to do as they please. In other words he has conferred upon the States a power which does not exist and cannot legally be exercised.

A revolutionary leader was once waited on by a band of conspirators in Europe sworn to compass the death of Charles Albert. They had prepared every thing and appointed the time, but desired the weapon, and would obtain it in such a way that there could be no tracing of the crime. The leader said not one word, but pointed to a dagger on the table before him. They took it and departed. Now what that dagger was to those conspirators, the edict against color, the principle that none but whites should vote, is to the conspirators for the assassination of the colored race. The President has only to point to that principle, and to say: "take it and put it in practice and reconstruct your State by it," and the President is the moral assassin. The laws both of God and Man hold him responsible for all the consequences flowing from that movement. He set that fire. He took from an old slave shrine the brand that kindled it.

If fire break out, and the corn, or the standing corn, or the field be consumed therewith, he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution. An old heathen mother trampled out the burning brand with her own naked feet, that bore the prophesy of ruin to the life of her child. The Chief Magistrate of the United States might have trampled out that fire of slavery—that brand of serfdom and moral death by color—with his mailed heel, by right of war; might have beaten it out with his naked hand, by right of justice; might have quenched and destroyed that brand of cruelty forever by laying the justice of the Constitution upon it. Instead of that, he has blown it into a fresh flame, and lighted new States by it with the fires of prejudice and cruelty. From South Carolina to Colorado, and from Connecticut to Alabama, the country is blazing with this fire. The Congress can arrest it; but, under God, this is the only power that can. If they do not put it out, they spread it, they sanction it, and the whole country assumes the guilt.

THE MISSISSIPPI BLACK-CODE.

The Chicago *Tribune* publishes the following admirable condensation of the "Bill of Freedmen's Rights," now before the Mississippi Legislature, and printed nearly in full on our first page:

"1. Freedmen may sue and be sued and acquire and dispose of personal property only, but shall not rent or lease lands or houses except in incorporated towns or cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.

"2. Freedmen may hereafter marry each other 'just as white folks do.'

"3. Cohabitation between negroes shall be equivalent to marriage, but if a white man marries a negro with whom he has cohabited he shall be sent to State prison for life. If one-eighth of a person's blood be black, he shall be considered a negro. Negroes may testify in open court as witnesses, in suits between negroes, also where they are themselves parties, also where freedmen are parties on either side, also in all criminal cases where the crime is alleged to have been committed by a white man on a freedman.

"4. In section 4th the Solons of Mississippi re-enact section 3d without knowing it.

"5. Every freedman must have a lawful home on the second Monday of January next (which section 1st effectually prevents him from having!) and also a regular employment.

"6. All contracts for labor with freedmen for longer than one month, shall be written in duplicate, and read to the negro by a 'beat county officer or two disinterested white persons.' If the negro quits before the end of the year, he loses his wages; but if the master discharges him without cause—ah! the Mississippi Solons didn't think of that!

"7. Every officer shall, and every person may, arrest and return to his master a runaway negro, and shall receive for his trouble 'the sum of *five dollars and ten cents per mile* from the place of arrest to the place of delivery, to be paid by the master and deducted from the negro's wages.'

"8. Runaway negroes shall be arrested by warrant and returned to their masters, the costs to be deducted from their wages. Nothing said about runaway masters.

"9. In order to deprive a negro of any chance of improving his condition, it is provided that if he leaves one employer and goes to another, the latter, for hiring him, shall be fined $200 and costs (more than the price of a negro's services for a year), and if he fails to pay, shall be imprisoned.

"10. If a white man kicks a negro, the negro can swear to it.

"11. Negroes shall be freely entitled to all punishments prescribed for white men.

"12. This act takes effect immediately.

"Remarks.

"Comment is unnecessary."

Memorial to Congress.—On our first page will be found a Memorial and Petition to Congress which will repay a careful reading, and would be no doubt the prayer of millions of the people of the country, could they append their names or give their voices to it. It is part of the work of an editor to guard his readers against too long articles. The length of this memorial may deter some indolent minds from mastering it, but it will add materially to the political and moral education of whoever shall give it a careful study. It is an emanation from the Church of the Puritans, and was the result of two or three very interesting and important meetings held there during the past month, in which Dr. Cheever, Edward Gilbert, Esq., and others bore prominent part. The Memorial has been elegantly printed by Francis & Loutrel, Maiden Lane, and will be sent to all the Members of Congress.

INSURRECTION.

A letter from Cairo—in news-matters the Philadelphia of the West—to the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, which seems to emulate the reputation of its Philadelphia namesake, announces a threatened insurrection in Louisiana and Mississippi. Indeed, the plot is broader than the two States, and extends "from the Mississippi River to South Carolina." The old earmarks of projected insurrections are not wanting. A well-known citizen testifies to this thing, and spies depose to that thing; and there are mysterious visits of the negroes to one place, and arms discovered in another place, and so on. The horrors of San Domingo are once more summoned to do duty for the distressed imagination of the reporter. Add to all that the Copperhead papers have the exclusive news. But we are sorry to say that, if the document which appears in the *Enquirer* is genuine, a certain Maj. Reynolds, commanding at Natchez, has been persuaded into believing the Munchausen tales which the planters are circulating, and issues thereupon a frantic "general order"—an order that dates from no district or department, and lacks every evidence of authenticity. Col. Bush, also, of Lafourche, La.—whoever he may be—makes an appeal to the Governor of Louisiana to prevail upon Gen. Canby to supply the white rebels with guns to use against the black loyalists of the State.

We infer from all this that the rebels, who don't yet know they are whipped, are bent on mischief to the negroes, under the pretence that these latter are contemplating a revolt. Could the authorities but be persuaded of it, what a harvest of revenge may the rebels yet reap! Col. Bush—is he one of the two *rebel* colonels whom Gov. Wells recently appointed over the new rebel State militia?—writes that whites have no arms, while the blacks are all well armed. Will he then be kind enough to explain why murders and outrages of every sort upon the blacks are of daily occurrence, while the blacks, so far from resenting these acts, are utterly unable to protect themselves and their families? Gen. Howard has just passed through these menaced States; did he see any signs of a new San Domingo? We should like to believe that he and other military authorities would find in these rebel lies good cause for renewed vigilance upon the *white* population, who, whatever they may profess to the Government, are meditating a massacre of the blacks.

LECTURES OF SALLIE HOLLEY.

We receive the most gratifying assurances of the faithful and successful labors of Miss Holley in the central counties of New York. With a very few such workers in every Northern and Western State, a regenerating process would be carried forward which would soon give liberty and equality of rights to all loyal men, regardless of color or race. The uncompromising anti-slavery laborers are still the ministers and missionaries of salvation to the nation. Colored suffrage left to the rebel States, is but a daring denial of it altogether. And a denial of that one right now is a rebellion against justice and God on the part of the Federal Government, before which the rising of Jeff. Davis and his legions against the Union, pales into innocence. So let every man and woman who would see the country redeemed from its sin and crime, and the dread consequences thereof, be up and doing while the day of hope lasts. Miss Holley, and her travelling companion, Miss Putnam, are quietly procuring numbers of subscribers to the Standard, a service we earnestly commend to all who can devote to it some of their leisure hours among their neighbors.

The Seers of Mississippi.—Some of the rebel States, in the plentitude of their penitence, accept the abolition of slavery, but see in the Constitutional Amendment a Pandora's box of evils, including social and political equality irrespective of color, against which they mean to guard with sleepless vigilance.

The New Orleans *Picayune* of the 2d inst. has the following:

On Monday the House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi adopted the report made by a joint committee of the two Houses on the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery.

The report, which is the production of Hon. Mr. Simrall, of Wilkinson County, closes in the following terms:

"They (the committee) therefore think the Legislature ought not to accede to said Amendment."

The reasoning of the report is that the amendment is unnecessary, Slavery is abolished forever, and it is positively impossible to reestablish or re-introduce it anywhere in the South. The new Mississippi constitution has incorporated the freedom of the African race into the organic law. The people accept and will abide by it. But they see in the power conferred on Congress by the second clause to enforce the first by "appropriate" legislation, a superfluous grant of authority which may be used to expand the power of the General Government over the social affairs of the States to a dangerous extent; and they express the apprehension that it will be used to legislate the negroes in the South into social and political equality with the whites.

The House, as we have stated above, has concurred in the report, thus refusing the amendment.

Enslave or Exterminate.—Such appears to be the determined policy of the Southern States towards their former laborers, the builders of their cities, towns, railroads and turnpikes, the producers of their wealth and all the means and resources for its possession, increase and, enjoyment. The New York *Times* says:

The Legislature of the State of Mississippi has passed a special resolution inviting foreign immigration to that State. It speaks of the productiveness and variety of her soil, the salubrity of her climate, the high prices of her chief staples, and the consequent great demand for certain and productive labor and capital. It refers to the diminished population of the State, and the great and unusual inducements to immigrants; and tenders a hearty welcome and full protection of person and property to the peaceful and industrious white population of Europe and elsewhere.

The *Times* volunteers to add as advertisement and recommendation:

The Legislature has not overdrawn the attractiveness of the State of Mississippi. It stood among the very foremost of the cotton-producing States, both as to the gross amount raised within its limits and as to the quantity raised to the acre. Intelligent labor in the direction of cotton-growing will unquestionably meet with extraordinary rewards for the next few years. Many people suppose that Mississippi is an exceedingly unhealthy State; and there are undoubtedly regions along the river bottoms which are insalubrious. But the central and eastern and northern parts of the State are highly salubrious, and possessed of a most genial climate; and all that Mississippi requires to make her speedily equal in all respects to the most favored portions of our country is the peaceful, industrious and intelligent immigration which the Legislature invites.

The Hon. B. F. Perry, of South Carolina, having been directed by the President to continue in the exercise of his functions as Provisional Governor until relieved by orders from Washington, has employed as his substitute Mr. James L. Orr, who was inaugurated on the 26th ult. as the regular Governor of the State. In fact, Mr. Perry has gone so far as to deliver his own valedictory, just as if he were really abandoning his office, though pretending still to hold it. If the President has any of that "Jacksonian firmness" which his friends are fond of attributing to him, he has a favorable opportunity to exercise it by the removal of Mr. Perry.

On Saturday last, at Cheltenham, where he had long resided, died Lieut.-Col. James Glencairn Burns, one of the sons of the poet, Robert Burns. With his brother William Nicol Burns, he entered the East India Company's service at an early age. Both the brothers attained the same rank. Col. James Glencairn Burns, named after the poet's early patron, the Earl of Glencairn, was in his 72d year. He was a genial and pleasant gentleman, very proud of his parentage.

Rev. Dr. Stiles, who formerly preached in New Haven, and was a chaplain in the rebel army during the war, is at New Haven, and preaching in his former church. Dr. Stiles was one of the strongest and bitterest of rebels, and his son, Maj. Robert A. Stiles, is now confined in Fort Lafayette, waiting to get penitent enough to take the oath of allegiance.

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

PERSONAL.

An organized movement is on foot, looking to sending colored delegates to Washington to look after the interests of the colored race. Frederick Douglass, it is said, is to be the delegate from this city.

Provisional Gov. Parsons has received a dispatch, of the 5th inst., from Secretary Seward, congratulating him, the Governor, and the country in the President's name, on the acceptance by Alabama of the Constitutional Amendment, which completes the number of States required to make the Amendment the law of the land.

Warrington, of the Springfield *Republican*, understands Henry Ward Beecher is about to abandon the pulpit and make politics his future pursuit. He thinks, however, that "retailing his dough-face lecture and getting but small applause, is but a poor beginning."

Miss Anna Dickinson lectured on Monday in Springfield, Mass., and the *Republican*, which praises her most unwillingly, is obliged to say that "City Hall was rarely, if ever, crowded with a larger lecture audience than assembled last evening to hear Miss Dickinson upon Home Thrusts. The lecturer was in one of her best moods and had a subject eminently congenial to her tastes."

Madame Sand said of Mrs. Gaskell: "She has done what neither I nor other female writers in France can accomplish—she has written novels which excite the deepest interest in men of the world, and which every girl will be the better for reading."

Charles W. Slack, editor and publisher of the *Commonwealth*, was chosen on Monday one of the aldermen of Boston. Our New York readers need not suppose the position brings with it any disgrace. We have known many honest, capable, and excellent persons to be aldermen in the Puritan capital, and we are glad to know that their number is increased by the election of our friend Mr. Slack.

A Charleston (S. C.) correspondent in a recent letter relates the following:

I heard one gentleman remark that he had recently met Gen. Lee, and had asked him whether, in his opinion, there had any change come over the minds of his soldiers?

"I can't answer for my soldiers," said the President: "I can answer for myself only. I have not changed my opinions. I thought that I was right; I think so still."

Still unreconstructed, you see.

In the Alabama House, Mr. Smith, of Choctaw, has introduced a bill to prohibit marriage, etc., between the white and black races. Intermarriage is made felony by the bill, punishable by imprisonment for the whites, and branding and whipping for the negroes. Other disreputable connections between the races subject the whites to a fine of $1,000, and imprisonment in the County Jail for twelve months. The other parties to the crime are to receive "one hundred lashes on his or her bare back."

The *Temps* tells an amusing story respecting young Iturbide, the adopted son and heir of the Emperor of Mexico. When the Mexican Minister in Paris, accompanied by the legation, entered the College of St. Barbe, and asked for the lad, who was being educated there, the heir presumptive of the *terra caliente* was on the list of those detained within doors for neglect of work; but the director, on learning that the business concerned the announcement to the pupil of his accession to a throne, thought that so rare a case might authorize a transgression of the rules of the establishment. The young Prince was therefore introduced, and the Ambassador solemnly read to him the decree of adoption.

Gen. Butler will shortly reply to the strictures against him in Gen. Grant's report, publishing all the official telegrams and documents connected with his military administration of affairs in Virginia, commencing with the movement of the Army of the James in May, 1864, and ending with the attack on Fort Fisher.

When the papers get tired of superlatives about Grant's report they will perhaps discover that its tone of animosity toward Gen. Butler and other commanders is anything but creditable to the Lieutenant General. Perhaps, also, somebody may by and by recollect that Grant borrowed his illustration of the corked bottle from Beauregard, and that Butler's reply at the time was "It is a bottle with four necks, and a cork in only one of them." The retort is as good for Grant as it was for Beuregard.

The Howland Will Case has taken a novel turn. The bill in equity brought by Miss Hetty H. Robinsion against the last will and testament of Sylvia Ann Howland, deceased, has been filed with the Clerk of the United States Circuit Court. It avers that in 1862, by an agreement between herself and the deceased, mutual wills were made—that her will in favor of her aunt was found among the papers of the deceased, and that she has now the will made by her aunt. These wills are duly set forth in the bill with the allegation. Such wills were made in pursuance of a written agreement, duly executed, which is now in existence; and that in said agreement there was a direction to the Judge of Probate, in regard to any will of a subsequent date that might be offered for probate. The will of Miss Howland just proved, bears date about a year subsequent to the date of said agreement.

Dixon writes to the Boston *Advertiser*:

While in Augusta the other day I saw Alex. H. Stephens—a little old man with most marvellous eyes—looking not so much like a human being as like a character from one of Dickens' stories. Yet if Georgians reverence anybody it is Mr. Stephens. He resists all importunities to make a public speech; but I am told that he converses freely with all who call upon him, and that he urges everybody to accept the issue of the war in the most cheerful and liberal spirit. While in Columbus two weeks ago, I was told of a letter he wrote to a friend in that city immediately after the famous Hampton Roads conference. I tried in every way to get a sight of it, but without success. The gentleman who told me of it had read it, and used these words in respect thereto: "*He said that peace could be obtained on terms not humiliating to the South, and that it ought to be made at once, but Mr. Davis and his principal advisers did not want peace.*"

Mr. Stevens last week offered a bill in the House for the relief of Mrs. Lincoln, by paying her $25,000. "Long John" Wentworth, who said Mrs. Lincoln was now one of his constituents, didn't like the form of the bill, and asked Mr. Stevens to withdraw it, which he did, to enable Mr. Wentworth to offer a bill paying to Mrs. Lincoln her husband's salary in full for the term of office for which he was elected. Subsequently the matter came up and was referred to a joint committee of Senate and House, which is to consider the Lincoln testimonial.

The appointment of a joint committee to decide what demonstration of respect shall be paid in honor of Abraham Lincoln is in accordance with the precedent established when President Harrison died during the recess. John Quincy Adams was the Chairman of the joint committee then appointed, and he reported a bill paying twenty-five thousand dollars to Mrs. Harrison, which was passed after warm debates in both Houses. In the Senate especially it met with the decided opposition of Calhoun, Franklin Pierce, Silas Wright, Woodbury, W. R. King, and other Democrats, but the Whigs defeated them. President Harrison had not drawn a dollar of his pay.

Some complaints, and we believe unjust censure, says a Washington correspondent of the *Times*, have been made of the conduct of Gen. Tillson as to his management in regard to the freedmen and his treatment of citizens of Wilkes County, Georgia. Official and other reliable information has been received by Gen. Howard, of the Bureau of Freedmen, which exonerates Gen. Tillson. This information is to the effect that the most outrageous conduct has followed the withdrawal of the military forces from the county above named, and in other parts of Georgia. The acts complained of were committed by the sons of wealthy and influential families. These go in gangs, and openly declare that no negro shall live upon land owned or rented by himself, but shall live with some white man, or leave the country. Good men of the State denounce these acts, but are powerless to prevent them. They ask that the military force may be kept in the State, and say that if it be removed there is no protection for life or property. In consequence of representations made to him by good citizens, Gen. Steedman has ordered a military force to be stationed in Wilkes County. A letter from Hon. N. M. Reeve, Judge of the District Court of Georgia, dated Washington, Wilkes County, Nov. 27, states that, at the request of the colored people and in behalf of respectable citizens, he asks the intervention of the military in behalf of the freedmen. Several bands, calling themselves bushwhackers, jayhawkers, and regulators, are perpetrating the most shameful outrages—shooting, burning and beating negroes, to get money and for revenge. Their barbarous acts cannot be made known for legal effect except through negro testimony, and therefore cannot be punished. He asks that officers may be sent to take affidavits, and carry the offenders to Augusta for punishment, if any can be awarded them.

The Washington *Republican* has the following account of an apology from Lord Palmerston to Major-Gen. Butler:

"When Gen. Butler issued his celebrated Order No. 28, in New Orleans, known as the 'woman order,' he was denounced by the rebel chieftain Beauregard as a 'beast,' which epithet has not only echoed all over the South, but was adopted in spirit by Lord Palmerston, late Prime Minister of Great Britain. Shortly afterward, the Kane-Palmerston scandal was set afloat, much to the discredit of our noble Lord. Gen. Butler took advantage of the fact, and addressed a note to a distinguished gentleman on the other side of the Atlantic, in which he alluded to the fact that Palmerston had repeated the dirty scandal about his (Butler's) 'woman order;' that perhaps the learned Premier was not aware that the order which, in consequence of the *beastly* conduct of the rebel women of New Orleans toward the Federal troops, became a military necessity, was copied *verbatim* from an order of the City Council of London, established during a time of *peace!* Gen. Butler, having just heard of the gossip about Mrs. Kane and Palmerston, remarked in the letter referred to that probably his lordship had begun to learn how good it was to be slandered. Upon reading Gen. Butler's letter, which embraced all the facts about the misconduct of women, making Order No. 28 a necessity, Lord Palmerston wrote a letter of apology to Gen. Butler, which the latter still holds."

JUSTICE TO THE COLORED MAN.

Groton, Tompkins Co., N. Y., Nov., 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Sir,—The test of moral elevation to-day is *justice to the colored man.* To plead for, to demand his right to the franchise, is a work needed everywhere in the land.

The newspaper must be aided by the effective instrumentality of the living lecturer. There is nothing so potent to move heart and conscience as "the sweet music of speech," the magnetic presence, the fervor of feeling expressed in look, tone, and manner, the appeal to reason and to philanthropy.

Blessed, indeed, is any meeting gathered in Cooper Institute, Music Hall, or village church and district school-house, in the name of this great idea of right.

Miss Holley has been holding meetings for five weeks in this county. Besides the lectures, she has introduced the Standard into thirty families, leaving it to do its thorough work of weekly instruction, so especially demanded in this coming winter's trial of the virtue of the American Congress.

The friend with whom we are stopping here tells this story: Several years ago Rev. T. K. Beecher gave his lecture—"How They Read the Papers." In the course of it he said there was one paper, and only one, in the United States, if in the world, that published both sides fair; and *that* hadn't a circulation of three hundred, and never would have; because people did not want to know but one side—preferred not to.

At the close of the lecture a prominent citizen said to our friend, "I wonder what paper that was Mr. Beecher spoke of? I want to subscribe for it. It is just such a paper as I should like to take." "Why, ask Beecher—he'll tell you," said our friend. So as Mr. B. came down the aisle the citizen met him with the question, "What paper is it, Mr. Beecher, you referred to that publishes both sides?"

"It is The National Anti-Slavery Standard, published in New York city," promptly replied Mr. Beecher. Our liberal friend, who had read and admired the Standard for years, and does to this day, was delighted, and often reminds the prominent citizen of his wish to do—what he never has done—subscribe for the "only paper that publishes both sides."

Miss Holley's lecture here was kindly welcomed to the Presbyterian Church, filled to overflowing, by the pastor, Rev. Mr. Lumm, on Sunday evening. In Dryden, Rev. Mr. McDougal, gave welcome to the meeting in his (Pres.) Church. At Etna the Baptist Minister gave his pulpit freely to the cause. In Freeville the Methodist house was opened to the meeting. We there met, as here and elsewhere, those who mourn their kindred among the slain in battle; but most grievous of all is the awful woe we sometimes meet, of those whose dear boys have starved in the unspeakable horrors of the Southern prisons. Can it be possible Ward Beecher ever does? and forget that *Lee* was guilty of all those atrocious crimes?

The Sunday evening at McLean was delightful. A full audience met in the Methodist Church. Mr. Baker, a gentleman present from Nova Scotia, sang Mrs. Howe's stirring Battle Hymn of the Republic.

The attention was very marked during the lecture. A Copperhead could not believe Col. Shaw's black regiment had to go by sea, because it could not pass through New York city at that time, "for fear they would be murdered by Gov. Seymour's friends." I trust he got effectually enlightened.

Other meetings in this town, and at East Lansing, have also been held, and the doctrine of equal suffrage for black and white alike, faithfully set forth with convincing, persuasive power.

Reading aloud to a friend the other day the report of the late meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and Mrs. Mott's sensible remarks, recalled to her mind the story of Lucretia Mott and Florence Nightingale. It illustrates how diffusive the spirit of philanthropy is that marks the Abolitionists. When Lucretia Mott—she of whom Geo. W. Curtis said "Duchesses might learn grace"—was in England, in 1840, Florence was a young girl, listening to her talk about the importance of girls having some other ambition than mere dress, society, and admiration, till Florence said she would like to live to do good. Shortly after she was visiting some hospital with her aunt, and as they went through the wards Florence would say such, or such an improvement ought to be made. When her aunt replied, "and, Florence, you are the very one to make it. This is the work for you to do—you who see so clearly how these things ought to be; you have been wanting something that should engage your higher and better energies, and here it is."

So from the ideas and spirit of our own noble Lucretia Mott sprung an inspiration to Florence Nightingale's beautiful and philanthropic work. C. F. P.

CAN SLAVES AND THE CHILDREN OF SLAVES BE EDUCATED?

To the Editor of the Standard:

Sir,—Questions of this sort can only be answered by actual fact, and cannot be left to speculation and ex cathedra assertions.

The late American Consul at Mauritius has recently returned thence, after a residence of seven years, and mentions the following fact to his friends:

The population of Mauritius is composed of portions from all parts of the world—Americans, English, French, and the Eastern nations. When the English took possession of it, they enfranchised the African population held in slavery by the French; and these persons and their children constitute a certain portion of the population, and are known by the name of "ex-apprentices."

The three lawyers of highest standing at the bar, admitted on all hands to be such, *are colored men.*

The Mayors are elected in the following manner: Three candidates are chosen by election by the population at large, out of which three, one is selected by the Governor. *The two last Mayors have been Africans.*

The Governor's council is composed of five members, *two of whom are always Africans.*

All this takes place in a population derived from all parts of the world, and where the Anglo-Saxon element is predominant so far as power and government are concerned. Civilly, the colored men have precisely equal rights and privileges with all; socially, they are not considered equal. No English colonists ever regard the natives as having the highest right to social equality with themselves. Witness India, where the natives of all castes are habitually called "niggers;" and Malta, where no English lady permits a Maltese lady to enter her drawing-room, a fact mentioned to the writer in Valetta, by a prominent English gentleman established there.

The state of affairs in Mauritius seems a sufficient proof that the Africans are capable of taking care of themselves when not crushed to the earth by withholding from them civil privileges as well as the *right to exercise mechanical trades*, as done here. It is idle to say that there is no law against a colored man laying brick or planing boards, when the fact stands out, that if one were to be engaged for such work at any building or in any shop, all the white hands would instantly cease work. With these opportunities of labor cut off, it is only wonderful that the blacks should do as well as they have done. L.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, December 11, 1865.

I hope you read the "religious" papers. There is occasionally some good fun to be found in them. A capital specimen of this occurred in the *Congregationalist* of last week. Its Reverend Editor seems to have bethought him that, now that a general recognition of the value of Mr. Garrison's labors for the last thirty years is getting wide expression in the community, he would do well to join the chorus. It was rather a hard thing to do, hard for clerical dignity and still harder for clerical consistency, since this Reverend has been vituperating and abusing Mr. Garrison for about half of the said thirty years. I think I have even heard that, so keenly did he feel the exposure of the sins of the church and the clergy which found place in the *Liberator*, that he stopped the exchange which had been going on between that paper and his own. He could not bear the reflection of his own spiritual face, and of the faces of his clerical brethren, in that faithful mirror. All the time, observe, he claimed an anti-slavery character for the *Congregationalist*, and really said very hard things against worldly slaveholders, unregenerate slaveholders, unconverted slaveholders, people who practiced the sum of all villanies without first becoming Christians! *They* were inexcusable. If the *Liberator* had only confined itself to rebuking *them!* But it laid unhallowed hands upon the Ark of clerical character. It showed how slaveholding carried on under the pretence of Biblical authority and a Christian life was the worst slaveholding of all. And the *Congregationalist* forthwith flew off the handle.

But times change, and papers change with them. So the last number of this pious *Congregationalist* graciously volunteers a certificate of good character for the man against whom it has been saying all manner of evil, and against whom, as an eminently dangerous man, it has been accustomed to warn its section of the great public. It was from papers like this that the exhortations came, earnestly beseeching Lyceum Committees not to invite such men as Garrison to lecture in their courses.

Since times *have* changed, it was thought well to keep up with them, and to issue from the holy office this certificate of good character. But no undue warmth of approval was manifested. It was a good character with reservations. The Reverend never forgot that he was speaking of a common man—a layman! and he made a statement something like this, to the best of my remembrance:—that William Lloyd Garrison was now happily enabled to see the fruit of his labors; that he had done an important work; that he had no doubt been faithful to his one great idea; that though there had been controversies and debates in the past, it seemed now best to let bygones be bygones; that he (the Reverend patron) was not prepared to say, that all things on his (the patronized one's) part had been as they should have been, but he was willing to forget and forgive; and he was willing also to concede that William Lloyd Garrison would "stand well in history!"

It is said, you know, to be harder for the injurer than for the injured person to exercise the virtue of forgiveness. This fact puts the act upon which we are commenting in a very impressive light. It would not be so easy for a common person who had been in the wrong to take a superior attitude in settling up the account. But Reverends do these things with facility. Does the "imposition of hands" endow them with twofold assurance for the practice of imposition?

Speaking of Reverends—one of our meeting-houses, the habitation of a church of pro-slavery orthodoxy, situated in Winter street, was sold, awhile ago, to the money-changers. While they were taking it down, in preparation for the erection of retail stores, I wondered what they would do with two immense granite pillars which adorned the entrance. Afterwards I saw sections of those same pillars—where do you think?—even among the building materials of Mr. Lon. Morris's theatrical establishment, now in process of erection! Isn't it funny? Could the stones of the negro-hating church have gone by spontaneous attraction to prop the walls of the negro-ridiculing theatre? For you must know that the rich comedian who is building this house has grown rich by exhibiting to the larger and smaller children of Boston ridiculous burlesques of the colored people. It may pass, perhaps, for a case of elective affinity.

I find in one of our papers the report of a sermon preached yesterday, on the President's Message, by Rev. George H. Hepworth. From this popular preacher, settled over a fashionable Unitarian church at the South end, I did not expect any just and thorough criticism of a document so generally praised by the Republican press and party. He said, however, according to this report, that there were two points, two vital points, in which the Message is morally and religiously defective. First, he said, the President's policy in relation to the admission of the seceded States is indubitably wrong, if judged by the principles of eternal right. He proposes to open the doors at once to these rebellious States, to admit them, to put thorough trust in them. Clemency is good, but justice is better. When an enemy repents of his wrong, go half-way or more to meet him; but when he sits sour and ugly outside, wholesale pardons are extremely dangerous. The President said hat resistance to the General Government had exhausted itself, and he was willing to trust the late rebels again. But he forgets that though *armed* resistance has exhausted itself, *mental* resistance has not. One misstep now will fearfully obstruct the progress of republicanism. Congress should inscribe over its doors—only loyalty can enter here; disloyalty must stand without. The people should say to the Southern Congressmen elect—Stand outside forever, if need be. Enter here you shall not until we are well assured that you love freedom better than slavery.

The other great mistake of the Message was its demeanor towards the black man. The President showed no confidence in the freed people, and gave them no proper encouragement. The protection which he asked for this important class referred only to their labor, not to their rights as men. The President might have taken advantage of that clause in the Constitution, which demands that the Administration shall secure to every State a republican form of government, and proclaimed that no Southern man should be admitted to Congress save with credentials that showed the fair representation of all classes. He had this right, but he neglected the opportunity, and now it may take twenty years to repair the error. There are two classes in the South, the former slaves and the overseers. If neither of these is yet allowed to vote, well and good; but if the power of voting is given to only one, let it be the loyal black man rather than the Southern overseer. We shall do an unpardonable wrong if we do not give the black man the right to testify, the right to vote, and every other right that properly belongs to the citizen.

It is the more creditable in Mr. Hepworth to have given this testimony, since his congregation is one that probably needs it. There are few churches, it is to be feared, whose ministers are faithful enough to give them, "Not what they wish, but what they *want.*"

Fort Warren, in our harbor, is again made useful by the incarceration of the pirate Captain Maffit. But how long will he remain under this very moderate degree of restraint, without even the hard labor that should be required of him if his life is to be spared? Is he too to be pardoned out, in advance of either trial or arraignment? The natural tendency of the President's loose way of pardoning (might not his complaint be termed, in medical language, an incontinence of pardon?) must be to bring the laws into contempt. It is both a reversal and a mockery of the excellent statement made by the same functionary at an earlier period, that "Treason is the greatest of crimes, and must be punished as such." What wonder that one of these recipients of Presidential pardon answered—when remonstrated with for his immediate effort to reconstruct the black code in his slavery-cursed State—"I am no longer under the necessity of asking favors! I mean to have my rights, by God!"

Since the President forgets or disregards the duty of punishing traitors, there is the more need that Congress pass stringent regulations limiting their power to do harm when turned loose on the community. If they must wander at will through the dry places of the States which still cherish the spirit of rebellion, at least let the whip and the ballot be taken from their mischievous hands. North.

LITERARY.

The Ballad Book: *A selection of the choicest British Ballads*, edited by William Allingham. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 16mo., pp. xlvii., 397.

Mr. Allingham is known to American readers as a poet of considerable originality and culture, capable of rising into a very high strain of imaginative writing. His "Talisman" is a poem which Mr. Emerson's marvellous recitation has made familiar to many audiences, and which is prefixed, if we recollect rightly, to the "Echoes from Harper's Ferry." Mr. Allingham appears here as the editor of what we may safely call the best existing collection of ballads within the compass of a single volume of this size. "Some fourscore," he says in his well-written preface, "of the best old ballads in at once the best and the most authentic attainable form"—that is what he has aimed to group in this one handy volume. It is not a light task to select, out of the abundant stores of many collections, eighty ballads which the general consent of ballad readers should pronounce the best; but we believe Mr. Allingham has come as near to his ideal as was possible. We miss few that can fairly be called popular favorites, and we find not a few that deserve to be better known than they are.

We might safely commend this dainty volume to those who are not lovers of ballads, as well as to those who already are. The eight volumes of Mr. Childs' unequalled collection may seem a little formidable to one whose love for this literature has yet to be created, but here is a book which no reader of poetry will turn from till he has at least glanced through its elegant pages. Like all of the "Golden Treasury" series, of which it forms one, the Ballad Book is an exquisite specimen of American book-making. The form is convenient, the type clear, paper not too deeply toned, ink black and lustrous, the page as a whole most attractive, and the binding of the volume tasteful. Messrs. Welch and Bigelow, of the University Press, are the printers, and they have no superiors in this country in mechanical perfection, taste, and knowledge. Messrs. Sever and Francis, the publishers of the Golden Treasury series are a young firm, but are already well known among lovers of good and handsome books by their conscientious and intelligent endeavors toward external perfection, as well as toward excellence in the character of the issues to which they put their names.

From the same publishers we have two other volumes of the same series. *The Sunday Book of Poetry*, selected and arranged by C. F. Alexander; and *Dream Children*, by the author of Seven Little People and their Friends. The latter is a very beautiful juvenile, which will make glad the heart of the many children to whom it will come as a Christmas or New Years' present. Mrs. Alexander's collection of Sunday Poetry we have turned over with a good deal of interest, finding in it not a little of the best religious poetry which less catholic judgment would have excluded from such a title. Spenser, Shakespeare, Cowley, Dryden, Tennyson, and many another name are here to be found, the devotional thought of the writer being considered more essential than any theological form.

The Radical, for December, opens with an essay "On the Foundations of Religious Belief—Real and Imaginary Authority," by Rev. Samuel Johnson. There are several other papers on similar subjects, two pieces of poetry, and letters from M. D. Conway and Rev. James Freeman Clarke.

We find in the Paris letter of the last *Publisher's Circular* the following account of Victor Hugo's new volume of poems:

Messrs. Lacroix and Verboeckhoven will issue on the 23d instant, one volume of poems by M. Victor Hugo, entitled "Songs of Streets and Woods," containing 5,400 lines. It is divided into two books; "Youth and Wisdom." Youth is subdivided in turn into six parts; Floreal—The Complication of the Ideal—For Jeanne Alone—For Others—Silhouettes of Auld Lang Syne—The Eternal Little Romance. Wisdom is divided into four parts; Ama, Crede!—Birds and Children—Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!—Nivose. The most important piece in the volume is "The Eternal Little Romance;" it is a little romance with plot and characters. In "Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!" under the title "Anniversary of the 14th July in the Woods," he makes nature celebrate the taking of the Bastille; a piece called "The Sower" is said to be pre-excellent. The publishers have agreed to give $8,000 for five years' use of the copyright of the volume; with it they purchased four other volumes, paying him $40,000 cash for the privilege of publishing the five volumes during the next twelve years. These are the terms on which they purchased "Les Miserables;" they gave $80,000 for the ten volumes. They made a great deal of money by the publication of "Les Miserables:" First, they published an edition which cost $12; then an edition at $7; they are now publishing an edition at two cents a number, which has an immense sale. If I were to say it has a sale of 200,000 copies, I believe I should be within the bounds of truth. They sold the copyright to Spain for $3,000, to the editors of Las Nevedades," who published a translation of it in their newspaper, which brought them at once 2,000 subscribers. After all had appeared in the newspaper they sold their copyright to Messrs. Gasper and Roig, publishers at Madrid, for $5,000. Messrs. Lacroix & Co. sold the copyright in England, Germany, and Italy, reducing the cost of the work to themselves to some $50,000 or $60,000. They had the whole French, Belgian, and Swiss market for themselves; say they only sold 10,000 copies of the $12 edition, here was $120,000 at once; in other words $60,000 clear profit, and every subsequent edition has been likewise clear profit. The first Paris edition of the forthcoming volume of poems will be of 10,000 copies; an edition of 3,000 copies will be simultaneously printed at Brussels.

The last volume of M. Guizot's "Mémoires" is expected to appear at the end of the present year.

The *Moniteur*, the official journal of Paris, has lately changed hands, M. Dalloz having sold it to M. Conital for $200,000.

The New York correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* says that the Harpers have declined to employ Rev. John S. C. Abbott longer, because of the gross inaccuracies in several articles on the rebellion contributed by him to their magazine.

The December *Atlantic Monthly* will have a version by William Cullen Bryant of the famous test passage for translators of the Iliad, of the parting of Hector and Andromache.

"Chastelard, a Tragedy," by Algernon Charles Swinburne, will soon be published simultaneously in this country and in England. The scene is laid in the court of Mary, Queen of Scots.

The English publishing house of Rutledge & Sons have just issued a volume entitled "Men of the Time," in which, among other startling facts, the reader finds that Gen. Sherman was compelled to abandon Atlanta, and fleeing eastward, escaped to the sea.

The first volume of a History of Art, by M. Thiers, is just about to appear, and great expectations are raised concerning it. M. Thiers began his literary career as an Art critic, and his mode of discussing Art matters marked a new era in journalism.

Mrs. Edwards, an English novelist, whose works are popular in this country, has this passage in one of her recent works: "All day long, like an overseer in a Massachusetts cotton field, Claude passes to and fro between the country roads and the vineyards."

Mme. George Sand received during the last twelve months $7,200 from the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*" for the privilege of publishing her novels, although she reserves the right of publishing them in book-form three months after their appearance in the "*Revue.*"

The original edition of Audubon's "Birds of America" was only 175 copies. The subscription price was a thousand dollars; a few years since copies could be bought for five or six hundred, but now it is impossible to obtain one for less than twelve or fifteen hundred dollars.

John Ruskin has lately written "Ethics of Dust, in Ten Lectures to Little Housewives."—Eliza Cook will soon publish "Diamond Dust," Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble a new volume of poems, and Miss Macready, a daughter of the tragedian, a metrical volume known as "Cap and Cowl."

We learn from the *Reader* that Chancellor Bacon introduced the word "essay" into our language to indicate "brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously." The French adopted it long ago, but the Germans have only lately adopted it. The words *Versuch* and *Aufsatz* rather mean Attempt and Treatise than Essay, in Bacon's estimate or that which now obtains.

The London *Athenæum*, in reviewing a "Synopsis of the American War," a work by that still rabid secessionist, J. R. Balme, says pointedly:

"Even had the southerners fought with right upon their side they would do well to reconcile themselves to the result of the contest, since no human power can reverse the decision which they lament; but as their object in the struggle was execrable, they have reason to congratulate themselves on the failure of their policy."

After Mr. Murray's "book dinner," at the Albion, 27,000 copies of Dr. Smith's various educational works were sold! The next highest numbers were 10,200 of Murray's Student's Manuals; and 4,000 of Smiles' Biographies, and of Livingstone's Expedition to the Tambesi; of Dean Stanley's Lectures on the Jews, 3,700 copies were taken; and the sale of 1,000 copies of Byron may be taken as proof of the renewed popularity of that noble poet.

Victor Hugo's new volume of poems has a prodigious success; the first edition was cleared off by the first demand, and it is now at the fourth, if not the fifth. *Les Chansons* are charmingly written, and will add greatly to the reputation of their author, who seems for the moment to have quitted his electicism, and to have flung himself honestly into the arms of the Muses and Graces. The new *chansons* have none of that philosophy which made some of his later productions distasteful to many people; they fulfil Milton's requirements as regards poetry—they are "simple, sensuous, passionate."

A correspondent writes:

You know Paris is the great *officina* of pamphlets; they are printed here by dozens, and read by hundreds of thousands. You may therefore find profit in reading this edifying confession of a pamphleteer, which appeared last week in one of our public prints: "I once wrote a pamphlet which agitated the whole world, and set ministers plenipotentiary to dreaming. The banker who ordered it of me (as a general rule bankers order political pamphlets) said: 'Above all things, imitate well De La Gueronnière's style. The world must believe it written by De La Gueronnière.' I shook my head, and replied; 'That's easier said than done.' He answered: 'Nonsense; I tell you what I want is De La Gueronnière's style. It is not hard to catch. Mix a pound of gunpowder in a pail of milk, and you have it to a T.'"

A Western paper, which is itself not unfrequently a sinner in this respect copies, without crediting, the following on the use of the words Shall and Will:

"The incoherent use of will for shall in the future tense and first person seems to be increasing upon us. We mean, of course, its use to give a simple statement in the future, without any act of the will implied. It comes from the South. Our public men have brought the evil Northward, for the most part. They took it in Congress, or in the departments at Washington. It is likely that a few years ago it was thought to be fashionable, because so the Southerners did. The reports of Congressional proceedings used to be full of it. 'If this motion is laid on the table we will be unable to take it up before Monday,' etc. Some of our best Generals write now in the same style. Indeed, most of our army men do. And, as we have said, the evil seems to be growing. There is hardly a single issue of a newspaper that does not contain some specimen of it. By an error of the same sort would is used for should. 'I sent word that if it was not here by noon we would be beaten,' and the like. It is a pity that the bad habit should spread over all the country."

The Boston *Advertiser* comments with good sense on a foolish practice of the publisher:

"The date of publication is given as 1866. We are at a loss to comprehend the reasons why publishers towards the end of each year put a misstatement like this on the title page of almost every new work. Any new book placed on the counter for sale before the first of January, 1866, is published in 1865, and the senseless custom prevailing of stating the contrary is highly reprehensible. It often becomes a deeply interesting question in literary history, when a certain book was first published. The title page of the first edition should be the best evidence. But under the custom now prevailing this may in future time mislead critics and create great confusion. We wish so very questionable a practice might be abandoned."

CONGRESS.

Proceedings so far have been lively and highly *colored.* Members who heretofore have treated the colored man and his rights and interests with anything but kindness to him or credit to themselves, are this year making haste with their friendly offerings. Heaven send that they now prove sincere.

The Senate came to order on Monday (11) at 12 o'clock.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT.

Mr. Wilson presented the petition of Francis Cook and twenty-five other colored citizens of the District of Columbia, asking for the right of suffrage. The petitioners set forth that a large proportion of the colored citizens of the District are property-holders and taxpayers. They claim that as they are sufficiently intelligent to build and sustain churches and institutions of learning, and to accumulate property, they are also sufficiently intelligent to vote. That for years they have been obliged not only to educate their own children, but to contribute to the support of the schools in which only white children were taught. That the record of the colored people as to crime and pauperism is as fair as any other class in the country. Out of a population of less than 15,000, they sent 3,500 soldiers into the field, while the white population of over 60,000 furnished only 15,000, and the colored soldiers volunteered without the incentives of large bounties, pay or promotion.

The petition was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. Mr. Wilson also introduced a bill to prevent the sale of notes, bonds, scrip and other evidences of debt of the so-called Confederate States, or any one of them, which punishes as felony buying, selling or holding such evidences of debt with a penalty of $500 fine, and imprisonment not less than one year nor more than ten—which was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr Sumner presented the memorial of the National Freedmen's Commission, asking for Congressional support, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

MEMORIAL FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

The Chair laid before the Senate the memorial of the Union State Central Committee of Pennsylvania, asking for the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

First: A provision which shall forever prohibit Congress or any Convention, Legislature, or other authority, in any State of this Union, from assuming, or paying any part of the Rebel debt; and that Congress shall never repudiate any part of the National debt.

Second: That Congress shall have power to levy and collect duties on exports.

Third: That representations in the lower House shall be based upon the number of qualified voters in each State.

Fourth: That no State shall ever be permitted to withdraw from the Union.

The memorial was referred the Judiciary Committee.

House of Representatives.

COLOR DISTINCTIONS IN THE DISTRICT.

Mr. Patterson, of New Hampshire, introduced a bill to repeal certain laws and ordinances in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. It was referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia. The bill annuls all political distinctions on account of color both in this District and in other Territories.

"THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

Mr. Delano introduced a joint resolution for an amendment to the Constitution, making it the duty of each State to provide for the rightful pursuit of happiness of all its inhabitants, without distinction of color or race. It was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Stevens introduced a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that all national and State laws shall be equally applicable to every citizen, and no discrimination shall be made on account of race or color. It was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Julian introduced a bill to extend the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Noell offered a resolution, that the House of Representatives will not exclude the members of Congress elect from any of the States recently in rebellion, because of the fact that negroes, as a class, were excluded from voting at the election of said members. A debate arising, the resolution lies over.

THE SOUTHERN DELEGATES.

The following resolution, pending from last Monday, and offered by Mr. Niblack, came up as the unfinished business:

Resolved, That pending the question as to the admission of persons claiming to have been elected Representatives to the present Congress from States lately in rebellion against the United States Government, such persons shall be entitled to the privileges of the floor of this House.

The House refused to suspend the rules for the reception of the resolution. Yeas, 40; nays, 111.

Senate.—Tuesday.

MR. STEVENS' RESOLUTION.

Mr. Anthony called up the House resolution of Mr. Stevens, and moved to amend so as to make it a concurrent instead of a joint resolution, and to read as follows:

Resolved (by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring), That a joint committee of 15 members shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House and six members of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they or any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Anthony moved to strike out the following clause:

And until such report shall have been made and finally acted on by Congress, no members shall be received into either House from any of the said so-called Confederate States; and all papers relating to the representation of the said States shall be referred to the said Committee without debate.

After much debate by Messrs. Howard, Anthony, Doolittle, Fessenden, Trumbull and others, the amendment was adopted—33 to 11. And so the virtue of Mr. Stevens' resolution was extracted, and the Senate to that extent, admits the South victorious. On the same day the Tennessee delegates are invited to seats in the House.

Mr. Cowan called up his resolution of yesterday, calling upon the President for information as to whether the rebellion has been suppressed; the post-offices re-established; the revenue being collected, etc.

Mr. Sumner offered the following amendment, which was adopted: "And at the same time to furnish the Senate copies of such reports as may be or have been received from officers and agents appointed to visit the portion of the Union lately in Rebellion, including especially the reports of the Hon. John Covode and Maj.-Gen. Karl Schurz."

The resolution was adopted, and the Senate, at 2:45 adjourned.

House.—Tuesday.

THE TENNESSEE DELEGATES.

Mr. Raymond (editor of the N. Y. *Times*) rose to present to the House the credentials, signed by the Governor, and bearing the seal of the State of Tennessee, certifying that certain persons therein named were elected in due comformity with the laws of the State and of the United States, and were, therefore, entitled to seats as members of the House. He presented those papers simply that they might come before the House.

Mr. Stevens rose to a point of order. He held that this was not a question of privilege. The State of Tennessee was not known in this House.

The Speaker overruled the gentleman, saying the usage was uniform to present credentials as a question of privilege. It was for the House to determine whether they should be laid upon the table or referred.

After some discussion, motions to amend, and for the previous question, the vote was taken 125 to 42 and the credentials of the persons claiming seats in the House from the State of Tennessee were referred to the joint Committee of fifteen, if the same shall be appointed.

ADMISSION TO THE FLOOR.

Mr. Stevens offered a resolution to admit those persons to the floor of the House.

Mr. Brooks had no objection to the proposition if the gentleman would amend it so as give all the claimants of seats from the South the same privilege.

Mr. Wilson (Iowa) objected to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. Cobb offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That until otherwise ordered Nathaniel G. Taylor, Horace Maynard, William B. Stokes, Edmund Cooper, William S. Campbell, Samuel M. Arnold, Isaac R. Hawkins and John M. Lethwich be invited to occupy seats in the Hall of Representatives.

Mr. Wilson unsuccessfully moved to lay the resolution on the table.

The resolution was then agreed to—Yeas, 132; Nays, 32.

Virginia Politics.—The Richmond correspondent of the New York *Herald* says the Legislature of Virginia has determined to remove on Tuesday of this week all of the State officers at present holding place under Gov. Pierpoint, save the State Auditor. These men were originally selected because of their well-known Union proclivities, and they are now to be displaced for the same reason.

Another indication of Legislative feeling is embodied in a resolution introduced for the building of a court house in Washington county, which declares in specific terms that the previous structure "was destroyed by the public enemy." The following action in regard to the negroes has been taken:

"There are about seventy thousand negroes on the Peninsula, quite thirty thousand of whom followed Gen. Sherman up from his march to the sea. A resolution was introduced to-day looking to the removal of these negroes to the States and counties whence they came.

"A committee of five members of the Senate and ten members of the House was appointed to confer with Col. Brown, Commissioner of Freedmen for Virginia, relative to negro affairs, and, as the resolution strangely reads, to urge the 'immediate withdrawal of the troops from the State.' One member of the House remarked that he hoped the resolution would be tabled, because 'we had truckled to the Government long enough in this matter of the Freedmen's Bureau.'

"It is also contemplated to build a poor house in each county for the negroes, compelling them to bear the burden of the expense."

THE FRIEND.

The following is the prospectus of a new monthly journal, announced to appear on the first of January, to be devoted to the interests of liberal Quakerism, earnest religious thought, and topics of general interest:

New York, December 1, 1865.

WILL BE PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY, 1866,

THE FRIEND,

AN INDEPENDENT MONTHLY PERIODICAL.

In the Society of Friends there is a liberal advance in thought pertaining to matters of religious life and opinion, which is not commonly represented in the ministrations and publications of the Society. These higher aspirations and nobler thoughts are stifled and repressed under the influence of a select conservative body through which they are required to be filtered to find expression. Of this comes decay where should be growth, death where should be health and vitality. Disciplinary revision, and the rebuilding of the superstructure have become necessary.

While The Friend will be the organ of no society, sect, or party, it is designed to be an agent for the propagation, and a medium for the expression, of earnest religious thought among intelligent Friends; and to arrest the attention of liberally inclined minds among all classes. Topics of general interest as related to human welfare will be considered in its columns.

Subscriptions are invited and correspondence solicited. A large edition of the first number will be issued and sent to persons receiving this prospectus. A limited number only of advertisements will be received.

Twelve numbers will constitute a volume. Terms: One Dollar a year in advance. Six copies Five Dollars.

All communications should be addressed to

Edwin A. Studwell, Publisher,
48 Beekman street, New York.

OBITUARY.

Died, in Great Falls, N. H., November 30, Mrs. Martha H. Ingalls Walker, widow of Rev. James Walker, in the 80th year of her age. She was a person beaming with kindness and love for all; and she lived and died loved and respected by all who knew her. Her father was one of the earliest settlers of Shelburn, in this State, to which place she was taken by her grandfather on horseback, when two months old, from Conway, sewed in a sack and slung around his neck, while her mother rode another horse, a distance of forty miles, over only a "bridle-path" spotted through the woods. There in a log cabin home, a large family, of which she was the eldest, were reared and educated until they all became teachers.

Mrs. Walker was an accomplished woman by nature, and profoundly educated, though not in the manner of the schools. Her information extended to a wide range of subjects, and her interest in all matters of public concern continued unabated to the last. She had the faculty of making everybody comfortable and happy who came within the sphere of her personal influence. Even the most radical and reformatory ideas were never offensive when defended by her. Her house was always the home of the lecturers on unpopular reforms, especially anti-slavery in its early days; and there are few, if any, of the early missionaries in that cause who will not recollect the generous hospitality of the Walkers, and be glad to know that her wish was gratified—of living to see the end of the war and the abolition of slavery. Com.

New Music.—Horace Waters, 481 Broadway, has sent us Santa Claus, song and chorus; The Nation's Jubilee; Come to the Window, Love; and Do They Love Me Still as Ever; published in his usual elegant style, and only part of a large assortment.

MARRIED.

Garrison—McKim.—On Wednesday, Dec. 6, at Philadelphia, by the Rev. Dr. Furness, Wendell P. Garrison, of New York, and Lucy, daughter of J. M. McKim, of Philadelphia. No cards.

Special Notices.

Splendid Premiums! Pianos, Melodeons, Sewing Machines, Libraries, etc., given to parties getting up clubs for The Illustrated Phrenological Journal for 1866. See December No., 20 cents, or send stamp for particulars to FOWLER & WELLS, 389 Broadway, N. Y. 2t

Peace Conference.—We have been desired to announce that an informal Peace Conference will be held on Tuesday, December 12, at 10 o'clock, a.m., in Room No. 4, 158 Washington street, Boston. Distinguished friends of the cause will be present; and all interested to unite in an effort for the immediate abolition of war, are cordially invited to attend.

A Stated Meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at 727 Filbert st., on Fifth day afternoon, the 14th inst., 3½ o'clock. G. M. S. P. Jones, Sec'y.

Advertisements.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, JR.,
COMMISSION MERCHANT,
for the purchase and sale of
WOOL,
No. 6 Channing st.,
BOSTON.

PINEAPPLE CIDER

Dr. Talbot's Concentrated Medical Pineapple Cider

Will cure you if you are sick; and if you are well will prevent sickness. See long advertisement in the *Ambassador*, from Oct. 1864 to April 1865. Send for circular. One oz. sample bottle mailed free on receipt of 30 cents for postage.

B. T. BABBITT,
—6m. 64 to 74 Washington Street, N. Y.

UNSETTLED CLAIMS OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS, of every nature, should be presented at once at the U. S. ARMY AND NAVY AGENCY, No 64 Bleecker street, New York. Back monthly pay, unpaid bounties, clothing accounts, &c. Applications by mail should be accompanied by the soldier's discharge and a full statement in writing of what is still claimed. Special attention paid to all claims of deceased soldiers for pay bounty and pension. 4t.

Miscellaneous Department.

A WOMAN'S CONCLUSIONS.

BY PHOEBE CARY.

I said, if I might go back again
To the very hour and place of my birth;
Might have my life whatever I chose,
And live it in any part of the earth;

Put perfect sunshine into my sky,
Banish the shadow of sorrows and doubt;
Have all my happiness multiplied,
And all my suffering stricken out;

If I could have known in the years now gone
The best that a woman comes to know;
Could have had whatever will make her blest,
Or whatever she thinks will make her so;

Have gained the highest and purest bliss
That the bridal wreath and ring enclose;
And chosen the one out of all the world
That I might, or could, or would have chose;

And if this had been, and I stood to-night
By my children, lying asleep in their beds;
And could count in my prayers, for a rosary,
The shining row of their golden heads:

Yea! I said, if a miracle such as this
Could be wrought for me, at my bidding—still
I would choose to have my past as it is,
And to let my future come as it will!

I would not make the path I have trod
More pleasant or even, more straight or wide;
Nor change my course the breadth of a hair,
This way or that, to either side.

My past is mine, and I take it all,
Its weakness—its folly, if you please;
Nay, even my sins, if you come to that,
May have been my helps and hindrances!

If I saved my body from the flames
Because that once I had burned my hand;
Or kept myself from a greater sin
By doing a less—you will understand—

It was better I suffered a little pain,
Better I sinned for a little time,
If the smarting warned me back from the death,
And the sting of sin withheld from crime.

Who knows its strength, by trial, will know
What strength must be set against a sin;
And how temptation is overcome
He has learned, who has felt its power within!

And who knows how a life at the last may show?
Why, look at the moon from where we stand!
Opaque—uneven, you say; yet it shines,
A luminous sphere, complete and grand!

So let my past stand, just as it stands,
And let me now, as I may, grow old;
I am what I am, and my life for me
Is the best—or it had not been, I hold!

—*N. Y. Citizen.*

GENIAL GOSSIP ABOUT CONGRESS.

[We surely violate no rule of newspaper etiquette in saying that the first of these two letters is by JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG of the N. Y. *Tribune*; the second by WHITELAW REID of the *Cincinnati Gazette*—two of the rising journalists of America. Mr. Reid is widely known as war and Washington correspondent of the *Gazette*; Mr Young as formerly managing editor of the Philadelphia *Press*, now one of the editors of the *Tribune*, and accidentally in Washington at the opening of the session.]

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Dec. 4, 1865.

ALL the interest attending the opening of Congress centred in the House. The action of the caucus, and the known determination of Mr. McPherson in regard to the roll, made the result a foregone conclusion. At the same time, the will of the minority had not transpired, and it was not known whether we should escape the filibustering scenes of the ante-Rebellion Congresses.

The Senate organized very quietly. The beautiful weather, soft and warm as Spring, attracted thousands to the Capitol, and long before the hour of 12 the galleries of both houses overflow. The floor is covered with a busy and merry throng, as becomes the first Congress after the war. As the Clerk quietly trips up the side aisle a buzz of curiosity runs through the multitude, for this middle-sized, smooth-faced young man, with blue eyes, high forehead and light, sunny hair, has a responsibility that may change the destinies of America. It seems to rest easily as he rolls over his paper in a business-like way and quickly raps on the desk as the minute hand touches twelve. The busy audience separates, and, as we have the opinion of Mr. Colfax for believing it to be the ablest House in many years, we look at it with some interest.

Thaddeus Stevens, who bears his 70 years as though they were 40, looks stern, grim, and impassive. Schenck of Ohio bends over him, and considering he was a Yankee monitor in Baltimore, looks quite amicable and harmless to-day. As John Sherman's competitor for the Senate he excites some attention. John Sherman seems quite easy, however, as he stands near by returning the salutations of Senator Harris, who looks as though he were born on a wool-sack, grave, earnest, majestical; and Henry S. Lane of Indiana, who carries his never absent cane, and seems like a Methodist exhorter, anxious to improve the occasion. Banks quietly takes a back seat, looking fresh and natty, rather grayer and more marked than when he led the struggling party of Freedom to a Congressional victory nearly ten years ago. Mr. Boutwell, his colleague, with a thoughtful, angular face, rigid forehead, and a generally keen Boston manner, enters into conversation with him.

Mr. Colfax, the prospective Speaker, is the centre of a group, and seems pleasant and hopeful, while Mr. Washburne, the father of the House, as they call him, smiles grimly upon his children. Bingham of Ohio, who looks like a fanatic, is conversing with Kelley of Pennsylvania, who does not; while Roscoe Conkling, with a crowd of New-Yorkers, is discussing the late election in that State.

The Clerk quietly begins to call the roll, and as he passes Tennessee Mr. Maynard rises and endeavors to interrupt him, that Tennessee may be heard. The request makes a hum, but nothing more, for the Clerk declines to hear him. The call is finished, and again Maynard strives to gain a hearing, but Mr. Morrill quickly trips him up by moving to proceed to the election of Speaker. Again Maynard beseeches, but the majority, under the head of the resolute Stevens, insist upon order rather sternly.

Brooks rises to his feet, and, in a speech that reads like an editorial of the *Express*, informs the House that unless it changes its course and throws open the doors to the 90 panting, unreconstructed brethren in gray, we might as well not have a country, which the crowd listened to rather impatiently, although Brooks becomes wild and declamatory. After a tilt with Stevens, which creates a shout of laughter, and a remonstrance that makes Long John Wentworth so angry that he continues his indignation to Mr. Orth of Indiana, Brooks yields, and Stevens in his slow, caustic, half-sardonic way, quietly forces his motion, assisted by the snappy, persistent, nervous Mr. Farnsworth. Mr. Johnson, a Pennsylvania Dutchman, tries to stop the tide, but it rolls over him.

Maynard takes his hat and dissolves in the crowd, and Mr. Morrill nominates Mr. Colfax. Mr. Winfield nominates James Brooks, amid much good humor, not malicious, but rather commiserating the New-Yorker's immense minority. All this has taken just thirty-three minutes. The call begins, and John B. Alley answers, "Schuyler Colfax." In this half hour a resolute majority, calmly, without anger, with rare good humor, indeed, quietly presents the determination of the Republican party, and informs the unreconstructed in gray that the way to enter Congress is not to kick open the doors.

As Mr. Alley begins the roll, the scene is historical. The galleries are crowded. The vacant spaces around the members' seats are crammed with Senators, and Judges, and Generals, and all manner of people, silent and dense. The spell does not last long, for the yeas roll up so rapidly that Mr. Colfax gets tired marking his roll, and leans over to converse with Mr. Garfield. We improve the time to glance over the scene and feel that if there can be anything in phrenology the present house is a remarkable body of men. How the types of nationality mingle and blend! The Eastern delegations represent mentality; the Western strength; the Middle discipline. Mr. Stevens has a most obedient majority, and it votes and acts as one man. The spirit of anxiety slowly passes away, and by the time Mr. Colfax takes the oath and makes his brief, earnest speech, and proceeds to the practical business of presiding, a business that suggests in its monotony and slibness the profession of an auctioneer, the scene is over; the correspondents bustle away; the galleries become hungry; the ladies take wing, and the House goes on with the slowly-moving, gabby business called legislation.

Special Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

DISPOSING OF THE REBEL QUESTION IN ADVANCE.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3.

The present session has been looked forward to as one likely to prove highly exciting, and perhaps turbulent. The disposition of the Southern question in advance staves off all exciting issues; and the earlier part of the session now promises to be tame and spiritless. Very little, it seems probable, will be done, in the way of actual disposition of business, till after the holidays.

THE CAUCUS CANDIDATES.

The candidates nominated last night will, of course, be elected by the full party majority. The ticket accords with the public expectation generally recognized here, and previously expressed in this correspondence. Mr. Colfax's renomination was the natural result of his admirable administration last Congress, and of the universal good will with which he is regarded. Mr. McPherson's early avowed views on the subject of making up the roll without the names of the rebel members, concentrated, by necessity, the whole support of his party upon him. Gen. Ordway's renomination as Sergeant-at-Arms, if it had not been already insured by his devotion to the soldiers, was no longer a question of doubt when the seventeen votes of Ohio were pledged to follow the lead of New England in his support. With the most harmonious and the ablest delegation here, and next to New York, the largest, Ohio naturally claimed an officer in the organization, and when she put forward Colonel Given, late of the 74th, his nomination was considered certain. In the contest for Door-keepership, science and the heaviest artillery won. Capt. Goodnow was backed by the State of New York, by long experience, and by the prestige of office; Hawkins Taylor had only Iowa, and hard work to stand on, and so he was again distanced.

SOMETHING ABOUT THE OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE.

Most of these gentlemen are already familiar to the public. There is a pleasing figure of medium size, with quick, restless movements, a face on which genial smiles love to linger, and a hand that grasps yours with something more than a politician's fervor, which everybody recognizes as Schuyler Colfax, third executive officer of the Nation. He loves popularity, and he has it beyond most men. He reveres principles, and advocates them boldly; but he loves persons, and in dealing with their interests he is sometimes less bold than his friends could wish. But after all, while some might bring to the chair qualities which Mr. Colfax does not possess, there has been no man in Congress for the last half dozen years whom he does not leave far behind in his approximation to the Ideal Speaker.

A trim, bright, nervous little man, handsome of face, quick in movement, honest in every feature, less often seen in the Hall of the House, and less familiar to the eyes of Washington onlookers, now holds the organization in his hands. Printer, editor, author, Congressman, farmer, Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Secretary of the National Union Committee, the round which Mr. McPherson has run has been varied enough to show his versatility, and successful enough to show ability of no mean order. Years ago, he was the hardest working member of the old Military Committee, when Frank Blair was its Chairman; and in those days, one who knew him well picked him out from all the members of that jolly, hard-drinking and leisurely working organization as the man of all its members most thoroughly conscientious in holding himself to the performance of easily-neglected public duties. It is to the same trait that the nation is now to owe an organization without difficulties or delays. He is not a great man, nor a brilliant one, but he is industrious and able, *and you can always depend on him.*

The re-nominated Sergeant-at-Arms comes from New Hampshire, and brings something of the Green Mountain stature and manner into the House. Nobody ever accused him of being very brilliant or very profound, and a good many growled at him last year for what was thought to be not the most efficient discharge of his duties. But his goodness of heart made him friends, and his goodness to the soldiers settled the business. A New England soldier was a candidate against him, but was forced to retire without a showing.

The New Yorker, just renominated Doorkeeper, is the picture of good roast beef, sound digestion, and an easy conscience. I don't think he's very Radical, and I doubt whether he's very Conservative; and for the rest, I'm sure he does'nt trouble members much with his politics. The vile slanderers who infest all public places do insist that the best whiskey in Washington is to be found in small quantities, for medical purposes, at his office below the Hall; and the men who tell such stories are generally good judges of the article.

The office of Doorkeeper is one hard to fill, and certain to bring enemies if it be well filled. That on the whole Capt. Goodnow discharged his difficult duties as well as anybody could, the Unionists have testified by his renomination, and that, without being much of a politician, he is a downright good fellow, everybody's good will illustrates.

The newly nominated Postmaster of the House is a soldier and an Ohioan. Of course Ohioans do not need to be told his history or character.

WHAT THE HOUSE OFFICERS ARE WORTH.

Unsophisticated gentlemen sometimes express surprise that small offices—such as they are pleased to term the most of these—should be eagerly sought for by men of ability. The full reason can never be told till some philosopher shall satisfactorily explain the philosophy of the universal lust for office. None of these men could fail to do better in private pursuits, and without the necessity of having the capricious tastes of a hundred or two Congressmen to consult; but there is a fascination about a capital and a luxury in the possession of power. They are thrown into relations of more or less intimacy with the people of whom the whole country is talking; and they have the means of providing respectable places for friends who lack employment or want to come to Washington. Thus the Clerk has the appointment of about fifty offices, with salaries varying from $2,500 to $1,000. The Doorkeeper appoints some thirty-five or forty more; the Postmaster eight or ten, and the Sergeant-at-Arms a couple.

The salaries themselves are not very enticing. The Clerk of the House receives $3,600; the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Postmaster of the House, and the Doorkeeper, each, $2,160. But for the most part, these salaries are earned in about an average of six months for each year, and the rest of the time is at their own disposal.

CONCERNING COMMITTEES.

Speaker Colfax is already embarrassed beyond measure with the arrangement of committees. This subject, always vexatious, and embarrassed with a thousand sectional and personal considerations, is invested now with new terrors by Thad. Stevens, who constitutes a regular Old Man of the Sea, mounted upon Mr. Colfax's back. No man, last year, could mistake the universal demand of the House for his suppression, as Chairman of the Ways and Means. The difficulty was thought to be obviated when the House, unable to remove the Chairman, broke up the Committee. But still the old man clings. He is the veteran of the House, has wonderful ability, has done service for which the nation owes deep gratitude; but he is impracticable and destructive as a financial leader. The Secretary of the Treasury protests against him, and the Speaker knows, as well as anybody else, that he ought to be promoted to—some less responsible and laborious position. But what to do with him? The Ways and Means Committee is divided into three; one, with the old name, to consider the ways for raising revenue, another on appropriations and a third on banking. The first will still be the leading Committee; and how to keep Thad. Stevens off this is the problem. That solved, another arises—whom to put on it? The next in order, and doubtless the foremost in combined ability and experience for the place is Mr. Morrill. But he is a student and thinker; not a strong, forcible leader to handle the House. There are others who would better meet all the requirements, but how shall Stevens and Morrill be displaced, without offence? Washburne is understood to aspire; and he has all the experience, and all the strong personal will needed to control the House. But he has the happiest knack imaginable for making everybody mad, and that might sometimes be an inconvenient quality for a leader. Others of course are suggested in abundance, but till the old love is off, it is hard to be on with the new.

Dawes is another rock of offence. He has been Chairman for a long time of the Elections Committee, and he is at once able and popular. But the majority last winter thought him inourably wrong-headed on the subject of admitting Southern members. As that is, this winter, an all-absorbing question, there has been a good deal of opposition to his reappointment. The Joint Committee determined on by the caucus will, however, take out of the hands of his committee the gravest of the questions connected with reorganization, and he is therefore more likely now to be let alone.

SPECULATORS BUYING ADVANCE COPIES OF THE TREASURY REPORT.

There has been the most anxious watching and spying to get possession of the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for speculative purposes. That irrepressible genius, whom nothing can drive out of the office, the head of the printing bureau of the Department, determined to gratify the speculators. Advance copies of the report were accordingly prepared in handsome pamphlet form, with neatly printed covers, and one or two favored gentlemen were permitted to secure copies. One of the *Gazette* force, a Washingtonian who thoroughly knows the town, determined as was natural to a thrifty soul, to make something out of this precious document. He knew his men, sent word to certain brokers, and at the appointed hour had them closeted in a private room of the *Gazette's* Washington office, bidding high for a sight of the Treasury report, as a basis for stock speculations in New York. Finally they laid down, in good greenbacks, one thousand dollars on the table, and the obliging *Gazette* man handed them the report. They hastily scanned the title, exclaimed, "all right, take your money," and eagerly turned to its perusal. The first page was blank. They turned to the next and the next, and their faces became as blank as the pages! A few copies of the title page to the report had been struck off, and white paper had been bound up into pamphlets with these printed covers!

PERSONAL INCIDENTS.

Horace Maynard was standing in one of the hotels, the other day, when a tall Tennessean approached him. "How do you do, Col. Maynard, I'm delighted to see you looking so well, sir."

"I ought to recognize you, sir, I presume; but I don't.

"Why, Colonel, you ought to remember me. You've met me often enough in Nashville, where I live."

"Yes, sir," responded Maynard, in his coldest and snakiest manner. "I lived in Nashville two years. I was attached to the administration of Governor Johnson. I passed about the streets, daily; but if I had been a Jew, covered with the most loathsome leprosy from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot, I couldn't have been more studiously avoided and abhorred by you citizens of Nashville!"

The pardon-seeker didn't think it advisable to ask Mr. Maynard to take charge of his case.

Two portly men ran against each other, the other day, in a hotel dining room. One was big, but the other was huge. One was Gen. Garfield, and the other was that Humphrey Marshall whom Garfield expelled in such hot haste from Kentucky in the memorable little campaign of the Big Sandy Valley, and who subsequently declared in Richmond that he hadn't *begun* to get mad yet, that he would make the war one of extermination, hand it down from sire to son, fight on, fight ever, etc., in the Ero'les vein. He has thought better of it; thinks the Attorney General's office a very comfortable last ditch; wants mightily to be pardoned, and was very polite to the man that whipped him.

A handsome, black whiskered person, in drab clothes, may be seen any day about the hotels here, waiting, they say, for Gen. Banks. He met that officer once—on the Red river—and his name is Gen. Fagan, C. S. A. Banks is expected to indorse his application for pardon. AGATE.

DOMESTICITY.

From the Saturday Review.

THE present phase of civilization has its blessings, but it has, upon the other hand, certain distinct drawbacks of its own. The fewer the luxuries of life, the fewer are its cares, and the European of the nineteenth century is beset by troubles and anxieties from which the predatory Arab or Tartar is certainly exempt. Trials fall in modern times to the lot of English Christians of which the early hermits and the first martyrs, and the patriarch Job himself knew but little. The trials of Job were many and various. He had to listen to interminable sermons, he lost all his family connections except his wife, and he was subjected to cutaneous torture of a kind which potsherds could not allay. He went through both sermons and boils in a way that everybody has always admired, and that has made his name the permanent type of resignation of the highest kind. Englishmen, of all these aggravations, are only called upon to suffer the first, and they suffer it with anyting but cheerfulness. Their fidgetiness under Sunday discourses presents an unfavorable contrast to the astounding placidity with which the patriarch went on listening to Eliphaz and Bildad. But it would be unfair to our own generation to assume that English gentlemen have not their peculiar trials. The great distinction between the trials of which we read in olden time and those that come upon men in our days is that the ancient trials were supposed to chasten and elevate the character, while modern trials for the most part do nothing of the kind. The inroads that death makes upon private happiness and domestic life are, of course, common to all races and epochs, though it is to a country like our own, which finds its chief pleasure in domesticity, that death brings the bitterest pangs. But it must be admitted in return that domesticity, with all its joys, possesses also corresponding disadvantages which are enough to shake and disturb the soul. It is not necessary now to allude to those sufferings which Xantippe inflicted, and which the philosopher of Greece, in common with the patriarch of Idumea, patiently endured. Matrimony is not so much a lottery as an archery match, in which those who shoot badly cannot complain if they win no prizes; and love cannot be said, in law or in morals, to be any better excuse than intoxication for the follies which people commit under its influence. The trial of a bad wife is a misfortune for which a man has to thank himself; but there are others equally serious, which domesticity seems to bring with it in its train, and which no amount of human effort can avert. They are not the consequence of imprudence so much as incidents attaching to domesticity itself. Those who are determined to taste its sweets must make up their minds for its bitters also. After a series of tribulations of the kind, the British house-holder feels tempted to fling up his hands in sheer despair, and to wish to heaven that he were some desert chieftain with a tent for his only habitation, on to which no gas companies had ever laid gas, in which no water-pipes ever ran, and where governesses, cooks, and footmen were entirely unknown.

In respect of their power of distracting the philosophic soul, perhaps governesses and servants ought to rank in the very highest place among all the troubles of domestic life. An ancient writer teaches us that the mind of the true philosopher is never in any way distracted. He surveys the events of life from a secure eminence, but is never moved by them. It is evident that the Roman stoic never came across a governess. As a matter of fact, it may be taken that the species was rare. In the primitive days when slaves performed the task of educating the children of the house, and were themselves sufficiently educated for the purpose, the father of the family escaped a good deal of daily worry; and Sosimus and Antiochus, whatever their defects, were too well trained to be importunate or ungracious. Keeping a single horse is, as is well known to the experienced, a trouble of no ordinary kind. He is always catching cold and eating his head off in otiose grandeur, or his legs swell, and nothing can be done with him for a fortnight. But keeping a single horse is nothing to the wear and tear of keeping a governess. Of late years the literary world has heard a great deal of the sorrows of governesses, and as a rule it may be conceded that they are a melancholy tribe. But the powerful pictures drawn, in *Marvin Chuzzlewit* and kindred works, of the ideal governess who is the victim of spoilt children and aristocratic tyrants, have not many parallels in real experience. If all women who occupy themselves with tuition were sensible and educated, the presumption might fairly be that their unhappiness was the fault of their employers, and not their own. Setting aside the exceptional instances of first-rate characters who have been compelled by circumstances to devote themselves to educational drudgery, one may without rashness assume that the majority are neither particularly sensible nor particularly well-informed. They stand to the rest of their sex as an usher in a second-rate private school usually stands to his. A farmer's daughter who has learned to strum upon the piano, and who has mastered with difficulty the French Grammar and the leading dates in Pinnock's History of England, is a fair specimen of the mass of women who come into the governess market. The literature of the day has its merits, but it can scarcely be said to be healthy or bracing in its tone; and the incessant study of modern novels makes a half-cultivated woman fanciful and sentimental without making her either educated or vigorous. She enters upon her sphere of labor in the spirit of an injured or neglected heroine, and an injured heroine she persists in remaining, in spite of all efforts to make her contented and comfortable. There are plenty of philanthropic societies that spend their energies in converting Jews, or training up happy shoeblacks, or relieving the dispirited and the oppressed. A society established for the benevolent purpose of promoting cheerfulness among governesses would have a wide and inexhaustible field. A single philosopher has no chance at all. What can be done with a young woman of untiring melancholy and of unprepossessing personal appearance, who bursts into tears if she is asked to take wine at luncheon, and retires to her bedroom, after her meals, to compose the gloomiest religious poetry? It is no use attempting to treat her as a woman, for in reality she is only a kind of raw or untutored school-girl. The difficulty of dealing with servants belongs to the same category. It need hardly be said that all servants are not bad, any more than all governesses, without exception, are invariably out of spirits. The true grievance is that servants cannot by any amount of kindness be ensured against turning out badly. It is sometimes said that a good mistress has never any trouble with her servants. This is a serious mistake. The proposition assumes that servants know when they have a good mistress, and conduct themselves accordingly. Nothing could be wider from the truth. They are a set of uneducated men and women, and act upon impulse or caprice rather than upon common sense or on reflection. To manage them successfully is a proof of talent of a high practical order; but to fail in managing them is not of necessity a proof of any defect, either of temper or of mind. The best whip may easily have trouble if he has to drive unruly cattle; and horses are more easily tamed and trained than human beings. Without any fault on his own part, the house-holder accordingly soon finds that domesticity is not an unchequered succession of sunshiny days and quiet evenings.

"An Englishman's passion for having an establishment of his own involves him in a hundred other miseries, which no prudence can avert. House-hunting itself is an occupation the weariness and dreariness of which is almost indescribable. It is no easy matter for the future householder to catch his house. The business involves innumerable journeys, and prolonged confabulation with the race of house-agents, who, of all men of business, are usually the most unbusiness-like. In most other lines of life, people who have anything to sell use advertisements as a means of letting the world know what it is. In house-hunting, the Englishman discovers before long that advertisements do not seem to be designed for any so useful and simple end. The first step towards letting a house is apparently to describe it in totally deceptive and illusory language. One might have thought that so ludicrous an artifice seldom could succeed, and was the merest waste of time and money. Perhaps it does not often succeed. But house-agents and lessors, from some inherent weakness in their natures, go on employing the manœuvre, and the result is a certainty to the inquirer of numerous and fruitless journeys after ideal mansions that have nothing at all corresponding to them upon earth. The one thing to be alleged in favor of this habit of inaccurate advertisement is that it seems to be a time-honored custom. Not long ago a Welshman published a romantic poem of some little length. He explained in the preface that he could not be said to come upon the public as a raw hand. For many years he had been advertising manager to a distinguished firm of auctioneers, and as such had been accustomed to deal with scenery in the most romantic and poetic vein. Mr. Puff, in the *Critic*, could boast of a similarly rich experience. "Sir, 'twas I first enriched their style; yes, sir, by me they were instructed to clothe their ideal walls with gratuitous fruits; to insinuate obsequious rivulets into visionary groves, to teach courteous shrubs to nod their approbation of a grateful soil, or on emergencies to raise upstart oaks where there had never been an acorn; to create a delightful vicinage without the assistance of a neighbor, or to fix the temple of Hygeia in the fens of Lincolnshire." A month or more spent in hunting down Mr. Puff's beautiful and visionary descriptions, and proving their unreality by the laborious process of inspection, makes the most patient Englishman hate the very name of a furnished or unfurnished house. When, by a felicitous accident, he stumbles on what he wants, he is but entering upon a train of continuous sufferings and calamities. The man who takes a house, like the man who marries, has given the greatest of hostages to fortune. Henceforward he is at the mercy of gas companies and water companies, to say nothing of being at the mercy of the elements. He soon learns that it is not an essential characteristic of trials to sublimate and discipline the character. A man must be very strangely open to kindly influences who finds himself a truer and nobler being for the bursting of his water-pipes. The hermits of antiquity, whatever the hardships to which they were exposed, never underwent this. Rock life, with all its want of comfort, did not expose the holy man to any of the perils to which plugs and cisterns, so to speak, are heir; and St. Simeon Stylites could not tremble more thoroughly before the frosts of heaven than does the occupier of a house in the nineteenth century.

Yet, after all, it might perhaps be said that domesticity confers a sense of comfort and stability. It is something certainly to have an abiding habitation, even if pipes and drains break in occasionally on the enjoyment of it; and a chimney-corner is better than nothing, supposing even that the chimney smokes. It is sad to be obliged to argue against the pleasant illusions of life, but truth obliges us to confess that domesticity confers nothing of the kind. Lest man should forget that he is, at best, a pilgrim and a bird of passage, railway companies come in and remind him from time to time, when he is settling into repose, that he must move on. Our fathers were at any rate blessed with comparative quiet. The great disturber of the public peace was in their day the paviour; but when the street was paved and the fuss fairly over, they could breathe in tranquillity for a year or two again. The paviour has been succeeded by other and more noisy mischief-makers. What is the use of a house at all, when a railway may run at any moment within two feet of its wine-cellar, and establish a central coal depot opposite the windows of the drawing-room? What with underground, and suburban, and junction lines, whistling and screaming and shaking have become the ordinary conditions of an Englishman's life. Compensation is a dream which soon fades before the waking reality. The law knows better than to allow of any such selfish claim. An Englishman's house is still his castle, and railway companies have not yet insisted upon power from the Legislature to occupy, without paying for it, one's front staircase, one's kitchen, or one's hall. But they may encamp and entrench themselves at their will outside the Englishman's castle windows, and thunder in all their glory by the steps of the hall-door. The Acts of Parliament, over the passing of which so many railway directors have watched and brooded, may be said, like the fates of Eloisa, to be severely kind. They are jealous in the extreme lest the Briton's land itself should be touched. But "amenities of residence" Acts of Parliament do not take into consideration, deeming such trifles doubtless unworthy of the protection of the Legislature, and comprehending them all under the category of those infinitesimal points over which the law does not care, as the proverb hints, to watch. In this respect, the country mouse is better off than the town mouse. Land in rural parts is a more frequent appendage of dwelling-houses, than it is or can be in a town, and constitutes a charmed and protecting circle through which the railways cannot break without paying for it. The complaint is not that railway companies pay badly for what they take, but that, in the metropolis, they can take a great many things gratis. The suburbs of London are subject to the same violent invasion. The sounds which the traveller in the *Pilgrim's Progress* heard proceeding from the mouth of hell are nothing to the noises which the railways are privileged to make all over suburbs that once were the retreat of solitude and silence. The householder who is not prepared for these and other interruptions must be for ever on the wing; and when he settles again into green fields, he is aware, from his experience of the Legislature, that his tenure and tranquillity are both precarious in the extreme. Domesticity, therefore, is not pure Elysium. There are so many drawbacks about it, in the case of all except the very rich, that Englishmen of moderate incomes may yet imitate their American cousins, and fly for shelter to giant hotels, where servants cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest, and where it is tolerably certain—thanks to the eminent and noble names under whose patronage such establishments are conducted—that the disturbing railway engineer will not bring his detested line and plummet.

THE "ALLAN COLLECTION."—The possessors of a catalogue of the antiquarian collection of the late John Allan, of New York, will be pleased to learn that Mr. William Gowans, of that city, has published a list of the names of purchasers of articles in that collection, with the prices affixed for which each article sold. It matches the catalogue in form and is an indispensable companion to it. It also contains an Introduction, giving us some very interesting information concerning the collection and the fluctuations in the value of property such as that disposed of at the sale. It is, we believe, the first book of the kind that has been published in this country, and the edition is limited. The sum total realized for the property was about $30,000. "The sale, as predicted," says Mr. Gowans, "was an extraordinary success; many of the articles sold for ten times their original cost, and fivefold their actual value. The writer (Mr. Gowans), during the lifetime of the owner, had valued the whole at fifteen thousand dollars. Of a few articles he named Knickerbocker's New York four hundred dollars; he laughed, and remarked that no man would be crazy enough to give that sum for any of his scrap-books. Said book realized twelve hundred and fifty dollars, a fabulous sum for a single quarto volume, somewhat grotesquely illustrated. Before the sale of E. B. Corwin's library, I named two hundred dollars as the value of his Indian Bible; but the Corwin copy sold so well that I altered my views about the value of it, and named five hundred. He always considered the Bible worth fully that amount. It realized eight hundred and twenty-five dollars. The Kilmarnock edition of Burns's works I valued at fifty dollars, but he considered it worth one hundred; it brought one hundred and six dollars. The imperial-sized scrap-book, containing an incredible assemblage of portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, sold for a less figure than both he and the writer had estimated. The mutability of the prices in fancy articles in New York is very remarkable; for example, at the sale of the library of the late Wm. J. Davis, a copy of the poems of the Hon. George Bancroft brought $40; and the following week, one equally good in every respect, and surrounded with a library as valuable, sold for $17; and had a third been sold the following week, it would not in all probability have realized $5. In Dec., 1846, a sale of Fancy Books took place in Boston; many of them were what are known as large paper copies. The books realized extraordinary prices, far, far beyond all estimate. A similar sale took place in New York about the beginning of May, and many books of the identical editions, and in as good condition in every respect, did not bring one-half the price that those did at the Boston sale. Such is the fluctuating value of fancy property in America, more especially in New York."—*Publishers' Circular.*

A TALK ABOUT BOSTON.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

BOSTON, Nov. 20, 1865.

IN the far-betweenness of my letters, you must allow me to be an angelic correspondent, and, crowded as your columns are, I am only afraid you will wish I were more angelic still. But, you know very well that the dreadful prerogative of the waste-paper basket is yours, and I take up my various quills with the calm assurance that, if my piping comes out of season, you will put a tender stop to it, without saying "by your leave."

Pending the arrival of the cholera, who, I understand, has decided to go to New York first, such warm and cordial invitations have been extended to him by your Street Commissioner, Boston has been visited by one of the most virulent attacks of statue-mania that she has ever experienced. It began a long way back; was in its incipiency, I remember, when I left Cambridge, in 184—; and after several exacerbations of rather a sporadic character has at last settled down into what threatens to be, unless some heroic treatment can be applied, a regular old-fashioned chronic affection.

In our Chauncy school-days, the only statue in Boston was one in Franklin-st., in the middle of the little inclosed green, which used to adorn that, since then, wonderfully altered thoroughfare. Now there are six, in public places in the city itself, to say nothing of the statues in the chapel at Mount Auburn, and the busts of distinguished citizens in the Athenæum; and Mr. Story carries back with him to Italy a commission for a statue of Mr. Everett, and there is talk about one to Col. Shaw. Compared with the poverty of New York in this field of art, Boston seems to be superfluously rich; but, all is not gold that glitters, and there is a quiet understanding among those who know, that, in spite of all the money and effort expended, there is no statue here, except the Beethoven of Crawford, on which Boston is to be congratulated.

Of the statues of Daniel Webster and Benjamin Franklin it would be old to speak, for they have been pretty well discussed. Powers, whose name, considering his inherent weakness, is a curious infelicity, never did anything more unfortunate than the Webster, whose baggy trousers, and incongruous *fasces* have been sufficiently laughed at; but it has been helped a little in popular estimation by the erection of Miss Stebbins' Horace Mann, of which I will speak presently. The statue of Franklin, by Greenough, which stands opposite the new City Hall, is inferior to the Webster as a characteristic portrait; it is a smirking little pot-bellied fop, and not Franklin at all; but I believe the sculptor meant to make a good work, true to nature and to history, and only failed because he must. How meddlesome man can be, to be sure! Just as Mr. Gilman's new Louvre City Hall was well finished, the little bronze philosopher, whose protruding paunch had long defied the laws of gravity, delighted to find himself once more, as he supposed, in France, suddenly became Renaissant himself, and, in his eager desire to see the new Yankee-Imperial architecture, gave himself an awful wrench and tumbled bodily over; the centre of gravity, in the solid little globular paunch aforesaid, asserting its rights with energy, and causing it to burrow deep into the ground. A great many worthy and long suffering people thought that, as Nature herself had tipped the thing over, it ought to be left where she had put it, or, at least, carted away and made into cannon, but the superserviceable authorities have set it up again, and we shall have to tolerate it a while longer.

Meanwhile, Miss Stebbins has come into the public square with her Horace Mann, the lustre of whose gilded bronze makes Daniel Webster, on the other side of the stairs, look grimmer and rustier than ever. It is generally conceded, I believe, that Miss Stebbins has made a very good likeness of Mr. Mann's face, but that the statue as a whole is unfortunately stiff and lifeless. Still, she has shown more directness and naturalness in the action of her subject than Powers has in his Webster, for we must always be puzzled to know what the Great Expounder is going to do with that Chinese umbrella at his side (some call it a *fasces*, and it may as well be one thing as another); while any child can see that the Great Founder of Common Schools is presenting Mr. Mann's Primer to the infants of Boston. While Miss Stebbins has confessed her weakness and, ostrich-like, has endeavored to conceal her ignorance of the human form by the stale device of a gown, which, if she did but know it, reveals more than it hides, Powers has, at least, met the difficulty of costume in a manly way, and must have the credit of the effort, even while we smile at his failure. But Miss Stebbins has shirked it nearly altogether. We do, indeed, see a modern cravat and collar, and the ends of trousers sitting awkwardly over booted feet, but these are details not noticed in the general effect, which is unreal and stagey. When will our sculptors learn that to true men, and workers in the right spirit, the modern costume presents no real difficulty? Pedants avoid it, and weak people; but a strong man will scout the notion that he cannot make a nineteenth-century coat as beautiful as a Greek chlamys; at any rate, if he cannot he will stick to the coat and make what he can of it. He will not try to shirk the difficulty by running his head under imaginary gowns and cloaks, cherishing the fond delusion that people cannot see the tail of incompetence and the claws of clumsiness sticking out.

One more statue, and I won't pester your readers further. There has recently been erected in the middle of Commonwealth-ave. a statue of Alexander Hamilton, by Dr. Rimmer of Boston, who received the commission to make it from Mr. Lee. The material is granite of a peculiarly close grain, the same, I believe, employed in the new City Hall and the Horticultural Society's new building. I do not thoroughly like the material, for two reasons. First, it does not admit of the sharp clear lines of nature; and, second, it is very difficult to get a satisfactory view of what lines and detail there are. The best I can do with the face is to study it in profile; at a little distance the features and the details of the dress are almost impossible to distinguish. What I can make out, however, amounts to this. The likeness, judging by Ceracchi's bust—that sculptor's best work, and highly prised by the descendants of the great statesman—is very good, and the figure answers to all that is known of the original. The costume is that of the time, and is given with much faithfulness, but the cloak is dragged into service here again, though not as absurdly as in the case of Miss Stebbins' "Horace Mann;" still there is far too much of it, and the treatment is singularly stiff and unnatural. It is brought over one shoulder and under the other arm, and the object seems to have been to keep the block of granite as solid as possible, a result which has been obtained at the expense of all grace and freedom. It appears, from what I can learn, that Dr. Rimmer thinks granite a better material for statues which are to be set up in the open air, than either marble or bronze. The marble gets dirty easily, and is injured by the action of the atmosphere, while bronze soon looks rusty and dingy. The objection as to marble holds; but I cannot think, for one, that the Doctor's arguments in favor of granite over bronze are sound. However it may be in theory, in practice granite appears to be an unsatisfactory material for a statue; and for architecture too. Even strong sunlight cannot bring out the play of light and shade, which adds life to the lifeless stone, and gives the details of ornament and feature all its value.

Dr. Rimmer is a gentleman who for two or three years has had classes in anatomical drawing, with reference, I believe, particularly to sculpture. Although many persons of high position here have interested themselves in these classes, and although his pupils are enthusiastic in his praise as a teacher; yet his school languishes for want of spirited support, and I am told that he thinks of coming to New York. Lectures on sculpture from so learned and thoughtful a man as Dr. Rimmer, with illustrations from the antique and the life, if their management did not fall into the hands of the Academy or the Historical Society, could not fail to be attractive. From what I have seen of his work, I cannot count Dr. Rimmer a great sculptor; neither his head of Stephen nor his Falling Warrior seem to me more than the productions of a learned man of talent; but to be a good teacher of anatomical drawing, and an interesting lecturer on his favorite subject, it is by no means necessary that he should be a great sculptor. He thoroughly understands anatomy, and he has long made sculpture the subject of his thoughtful inquiry. If he goes to New York he will no doubt find a large number of persons who will eagerly welcome him as lecturer and teacher.

A word or two about the organ, and I am done. To say that I have seen and heard it, is only to say that I have done at least one of my social duties. To do the Boston people justice, I really do not hear as much about the organ here as when I am in New York. Perhaps we are a little jealous, and we certainly ought to be ashamed. With all our love of music, or pretence of loving it, we have no suitable Music Hall, and our Opera House is no credit to us either on the practical or the æsthetic score. The Boston Theatre is a far more elegant and convenient theatre than any we have, and the Boston Music Hall is very far in advance of anything we can boast. Is it not singular, the apathy of our public in this matter—the want of enterprise?

Well, the organ as an instrument needs no praise from me. It certainly is magnificent, and must more than repay Dr. Upham and the rest for all their labor in getting it. It is, of course, too large for the Hall; would I suppose, be too large for the largest building in the country; but that is not the fault of the organ! Nor is its ugly case its fault either; that is